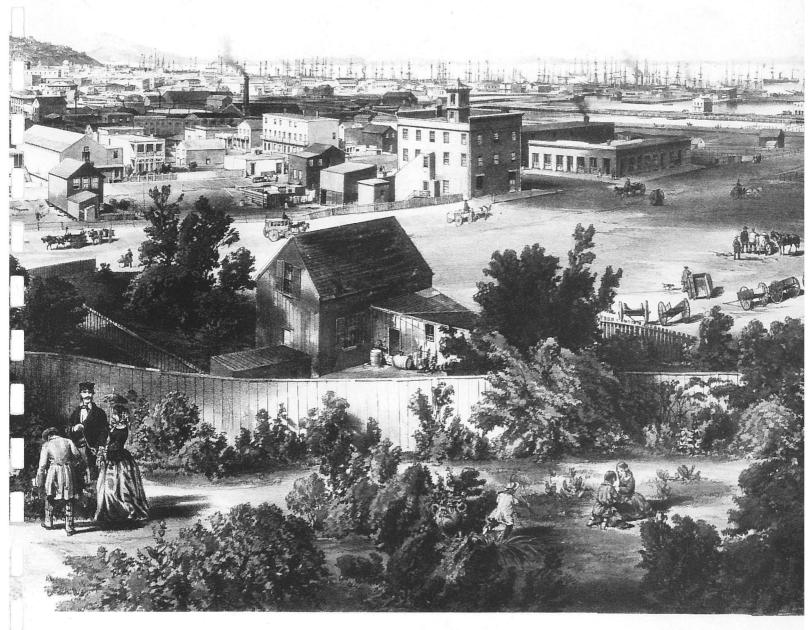
TAR FLAT, RINCON HILL

AND THE SHORE OF MISSION BAY:

Archaeological Research Design and Treatment Plan For SF-480 Terminal Separation Rebuild



Prepared for The California Department of Transportation Volume I

TAR FLAT, RINCON HILL, AND THE SHORE OF MISSION BAY: ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH DESIGN AND TREATMENT PLAN FOR SF-480 TERMINAL SEPARATION REBUILD

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VOLUME ONE

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The SF-480 Terminal Separation Rebuild, a project of CALTRANS District 4, will involve the demolition and reconstruction of sections of elevated freeway in downtown San Francisco, California. The Terminal Separation, which services traffic to and from the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge and the bayside downtown San Francisco area, is a 1/2-mile long interchange, with many ramp connectors to the downtown area; the structure was damaged in the 1989 Loma Prieta earthquake. The structure will be torn down and rebuilt within existing State right-of-way. The project involves replacement in kind with no expansion of use.

The SF-480 project area is included within 10 city blocks in the South of Market district of San Francisco, numbered from east to west for the purposes of this study. These blocks are part of three distinct neighborhoods. The Tar Flat area includes Blocks 1 through 4. Tar Flat was the earliest site of heavy industry on the West Coast. Workers in these industries also made Tar Flat their home; thus dwellings, hotels, boarding houses, and saloons were found dispersed among the warehouses, yards, and foundries. In sharp contrast to Tar Flat, Rincon Hill (Blocks 6, 7, and 8) housed the San Francisco elite of the early years and was the city's first exclusive address. Block 5 is a transitional block between the worker-oriented blocks on Tar Flat and the elite on Rincon Hill. Block 9 is another transitional block between the splendor of Rincon Hill and the simple residences on Mission Bay on Block 10.

Archaeological sites in San Francisco, as in most urban areas, are invisible, buried under modern created land surfaces. For this reason, the preliminary phase of archaeological research consists of using available information to develop a predictive model indicating where significant historic properties are likely to exist. The discovery phase of urban archaeological research consists of field checking predictions made on the basis of this archival research. The goals of this document are to identify archaeological test locations where high research and survival potential coincide with project impacts; to provide the historic context, including research questions, evaluation criteria, and data requirements, within which to evaluate properties discovered during testing; and to supply a treatment plan for data recovery for potentially eligible properties.

The archaeological component of the SF-480 project created a predictive model of the archaeological potential of the project area. Archaeological potential is the likelihood that significant archaeological remains have survived to the present. The predictive model was designed to enable archaeologists to concentrate their efforts in locations where the topography has remained unchanged or to which fill has been added, while avoiding potentially less productive areas, where the original ground surface has been removed or disturbed.

The topography of the project area during the period when potentially important historicperiod archaeological deposits may have been created was compared to that of the more recent past. In this way, the extent of post-depositional disturbance on the potential archaeological remains was defined. The project area was also delineated over Sanborn Company insurance maps from 1887 to the 1930s to create a precise view of the use of this area during these years.

The sensitivity study characterized the archaeological survival potential as either "low"-those where the native soil has been removed, or "high"--those locations where either fill has been added or the elevation has not significantly changed. In addition, certain areas clearly possess low archaeological research potential. These are places, such as early roadways, where important archaeological remains are unlikely to have ever existed in the historic period. Archival research aimed at identifying potentially National Register-eligible properties focused on those locations within impact areas specified as having both high survival and research potential.

The significance of archaeological properties is generally evaluated by assessing their potential eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places under criterion D (research potential). Preliminary research indicated that this would be the case with the majority of potential properties in the SF-480 project area. 36 CFR Part 800, the process designed to implement Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, treats these sites through several distinct stages, including identification, evaluation, assessment of effect, and--where appropriate--treatment, which may include data recovery. At each stage, reports are prepared that provide more information about the properties, and the effect of the proposed action on them, and make recommendations for additional work necessary to complete the Section 106 process. This phased approach can be very time consuming, particularly in cities, where paving and fill necessitate that the identification process involve the kind of subsurface examination that elsewhere is generally reserved for evaluation level excavations.

Due to the extreme time constraints placed upon the SF-480 construction schedule and to its emergency nature, the project is following a modified approach to Section 106 compliance as stipulated in the Memorandum of Agreement signed by the Federal Highways Administration, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, and the California Department of Transportation in February 1992. For the SF-480 project, the identification, evaluation, and data recovery phases will be collapsed into a single operation. This will be accomplished by applying the detailed research design presented herein during the identification phase. Employing specific criteria, evaluations will be made during a combined identification/evaluation stage. Deposits that exhibit the specified characteristics will be treated as potentially eligible, and data recovery

will be initiated. An important goal of this document is to provide the essential guidance for evaluating National Register eligibility in the form of several property-type specific research designs.

Archaeologists construct contexts through the study of the material cultural of past actuality. Prehistorians are confined to material culture as their only data base; historical archaeologists use material culture as their primary data base while deriving their overall context and refining their research goals through the use of the written (and sometimes spoken) record. Because they are tied to specific sites, the contexts constructed through archaeology have greater access to the lifeways of common people often overlooked in the past. The commonplace nature of most material culture--broken dishes, food scraps--likewise enable historical archaeologists to create detailed egalitarian historical constructs of the past that can provide insights not obtainable through documentary sources alone. Archaeology is particularly important in a city such as San Francisco where the earthquake and fire of 1906 destroyed much of the built environment and the archival record. Here evidence from the surviving documentary and archaeological record can be used to understand the lives of the residents of Tar Flat and Rincon Hill in a depth that would be impossible without the added dimension of material culture.

The research design for the SF-480 project includes individual research designs for prehistoric archaeology and for five historic-period property types that may be present within the project area. Prehistoric archaeological sites in San Francisco were quickly either removed or buried by rapid urbanization following the Gold Rush. Prehistoric sites encountered by project construction may be significant because of their research potential--NRHP criterion D.

The five property type specific research designs for the historic period treat: (1) domestic occupation sites, (2) commercial sites, (3) industrial sites, (4) landfills, and (5) buried ships. Domestic deposits allow archaeologists to study specific people at specific points in time. Refuse caches are time capsules that can be analyzed and interpreted to elucidate the everyday lives of people in the past with a depth and richness seldom approached by the written record. Likewise, the material remains of commercial and industrial sites inform us about the lives and conditions within which workers labored, the way work was organized and accomplished, the development of modern technology, and the discard of inferior or unsold products. The study of these sites help to construct the sights, sounds, smells, and hazards of city life. Early industrialists kept their technological innovations secret. The physical analysis of archaeologically recovered cast-iron products and by-products often provides insights into technological innovations and the processes and materials used at particular sites in detail not approached through historical research.

Fill layers are culturally derived as opposed to geological strata. Fill buries and protects previous living surfaces. It can be used to address various issues depending upon its nature and content. Cultural strata create a stratigraphic profile that can be read as a history of human events over time at a specific point on the city landscape. Ships are one of the material remains buried within the fill of San Francisco. The discovery of a Gold Rush hulk 20 feet beneath the present living surface of San Francisco would be an exciting, startling, and evocative event for today's city dwellers.

The SF-480 project is likely to encounter archaeological properties that are potentially eligible to the National Register of Historic Places. Test excavations are recommended on portions of 3 of the 10 affected city blocks. The affected portions of remaining blocks are not recommended for testing for one or a number of the following: (1) they are unlikely to contain important remains due to extensive grading during the 19th and 20th centuries; (2) they may contain important remains that are likely to be heavily contaminated by hazardous materials; (3) they may contain important remains that are buried at great depths and that will not be affected by project activities; (4) they may contain important remains that cannot be investigated because of engineering constraints; or (5) project activities will not affect the portion of the block where the predictive model suggests that important remains are likely to have been created.

Demolition of the standing elevated freeway structure began in September 1992. In January of 1993, the City of San Francisco requested that CALTRANS study alternatives to replacing the freeway. If the SF-480 project is not rebuilt and if other construction is planned for the blocks covered by this report, the testing plan will need to be expanded as it was designed specifically for impacts and constraints related to the freeway reconstruction.

The present report is divided into two volumes and a separate data appendix. Volume I introduces the SF-480 project and its expected impacts within the APE, describes the preliminary sensitivity study, presents an historical overview placing the study area within the context of San Francisco's development, and describes the history of each study area block. In Volume II are presented archaeological research designs for several property types, recommendations and a methodology for archaeological testing, and a treatment plan. The Appendix consists of a compendium of demographic data for the study area extracted from the U.S. census, city directories, and other sources, organized by address.

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Dr. Albert Shumate's long-time interest in early Rincon Hill residents and their homes resulted in his book on the subject, *Rincon Hill and South Park: San Francisco's Early Fashionable Neighborhood* (1988). Dr. Shumate interviewed the descendants of prominent early residents and published photographs from family albums of early Rincon Hill homes. His research included San Francisco city directory information, manuscript sources of life on Rincon Hill, and published accounts from many sources. His carefully documented book is cited many times in this study.

Almost from the beginning of San Francisco, religious organizations provided essential social services to those in need. For help in researching these institutions we thank: Sister Petronilla Gaul, Archivist of the Sisters of Mercy; Major Chris Buchanan, General Secretary of the Salvation Army's Northern California and Nevada Divisional Headquarters; and from the Chancery Office of the Archdiocese of San Francisco at St. Patrick's Seminary, Menlo Park, Father Riley, Archivist, and Dr. Jeff Burns, Historian.

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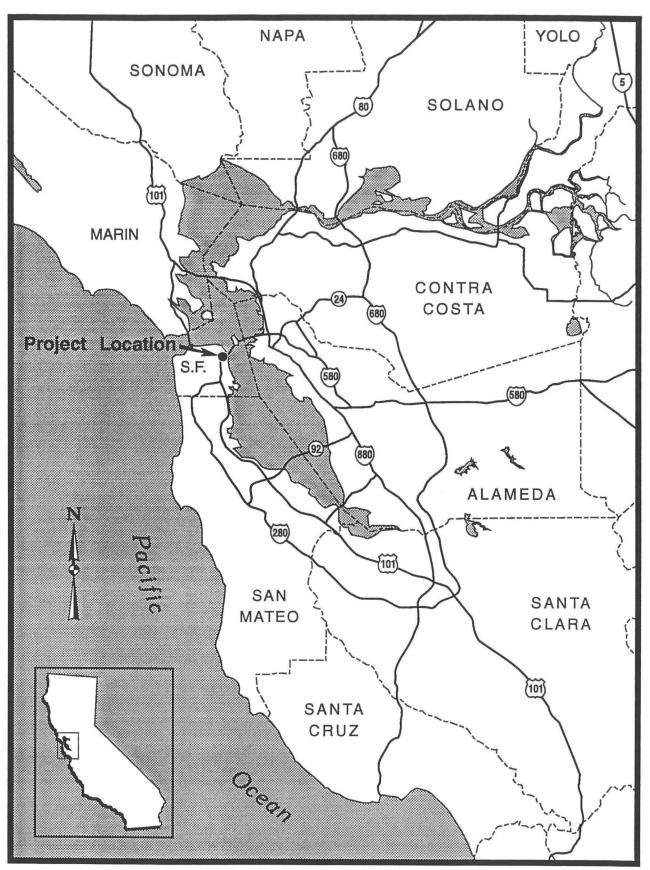
Although this volume is under the general editorship of Mary Praetzellis and Adrian Praetzellis, it is the product of the skills of many individuals some of whom are listed below alphabetically. Chapter 1 was written by Janet Pape, Adrian Praetzellis, and Mary Praetzellis; Chapter 2 was the responsibility of Susan Alvarez, Raj G.-Naidu, Nancy Olmsted, and Roger Olmsted; Chapter 3 was written by Nancy Olmsted and Roger Olmsted; Chapter 4 was the result of work by Susan Alvarez, Donna Garaventa, Gerald Kelso, Nancy Olmsted, Adrian Praetzellis, Mary Praetzellis, Dwight Simons, and Anne Yentsch; Chapter 5 was prepared by Mary Praetzellis and Adrian Praetzellis with sections by Nancy Olmsted and Roger Olmsted; and Chapter 6 was written by Adrian Praetzellis. Nancy Olmsted wrote the photo captions and designed the photo layout. The excellent, computer-generated graphics in this report were created by Stuart Guedon and Melody Tannam, of Basin Research Associates.

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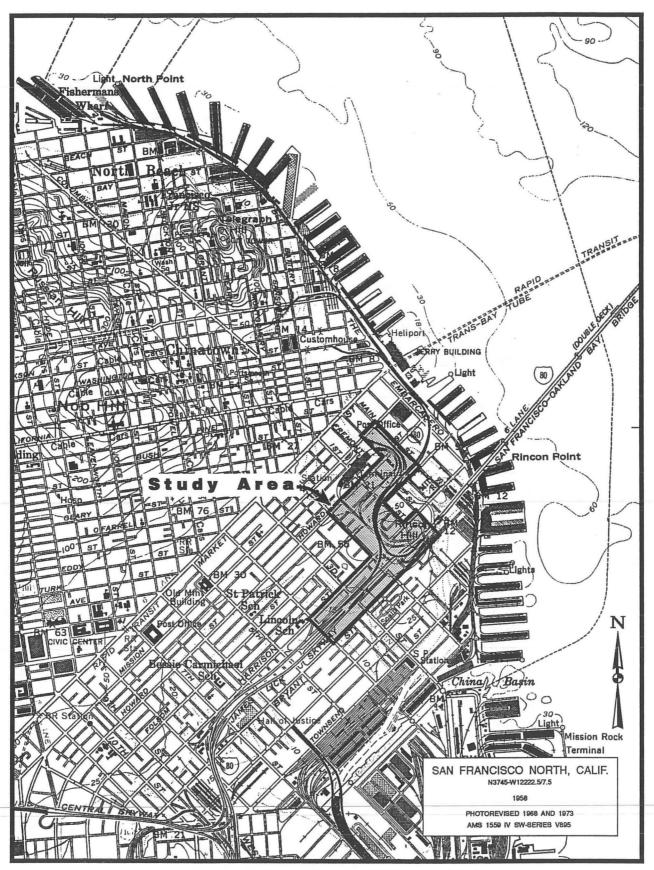
of assembling and formatting the references cited section twice. Mike Meyer oversaw the auger program in search of buried hulks on Block 2. Jack Mc Ilroy monitored the hazardous waste sampling on Blocks 4 through 10. Richard Dodd of the Forest Products Laboratory, University of California at Berkeley, identified the wood samples. Dr. Eugene Lau and Catherine Henrich of TRC Environmental Corporation patiently worked with us to clarify the meaning of the hazardous waste analysis and to design a site safety plan specific to our archaeological project. CALTRANS Environmental Engineer Celia McCuaig and Engineering Geologist Julia Turney also helped us to evaluate and understand the health and safety risks that might be encountered on certain project blocks.

As usual, Suzanne B. Stewart, of Stewart/Gerike Consultants, improved the quality of this product with her excellent technical editing.

The Editors



Map 1.1: Project Location: SF-480 Terminal Separation Rebuild



Map 1.2: Study Area: SF-480 Terminal Separation Rebuild

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Project Description

The Interstate Highway 480 Terminal Separation Rebuild (SF-480) project, located in the City and County of San Francisco, California, consists of demolishing and rebuilding the Terminal Separation structure, which was damaged in the 1989 Loma Prieta earthquake (Map 1.1). The Terminal Separation, which services traffic to and from the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge and the bayside downtown San Francisco area, is an interchange--1/2 mile long--with many ramp connectors to the downtown area. The Terminal Separation is so named because the original ramps, built following construction of the bridge, connected Key System trains crossing the Bay Bridge to the Transbay Terminal. The Route 480 Terminal Separation begins near Fourth Street at Route 80, continues in a northerly direction and then branches in two directions. The northeasterly branch descends to Main Street and the northwesterly branch connected with the former Embarcadero Freeway. The Beale Street on-ramp begins in a southerly direction, then branches in two directions. One connector joins eastbound Route 80 near First Street and the other connector merges with westbound Route 80 near Fourth Street (Maps 1.2 and 1.3). The structure is 80 feet high at its highest position and 100 feet wide at its maximum. It will be torn down and rebuilt within the existing State right-of-way. The project involves replacement in kind with no expansion of use; the new structure, however, will have some minor differences in height, length, width and ramp locations from the existing facility. Four-foot shoulders instead of the current two-foot shoulders will also be constructed.

Toxic and engineering studies were conducted concurrently with the historical and archaeological research documented in this report (e.g., R. Olmsted 1992). The hazardous materials site investigations and an archaeological auger program were completed between the submittal of the draft research design/treatment plan and the present final report. These studies have been incorporated into the present document.

Demolition of the standing elevated freeway structure began in September 1992. In January 1993, the City of San Francisco requested CALTRANS to study alternatives to replacing the freeway. If the SF-480 project is not rebuilt and if other construction is planned for the blocks covered by this report, the testing plan will need to be expanded, as it was designed to be impact specific for the freeway construction.

1.1.1 Construction Impacts and Area of Potential Effect

The Area of Potential Effect (APE) for the SF-480 project was defined in consultation with Federal Highway Administration (FHWA) as the limits of work which are within the existing right-of-way. There will be both permanent and temporary construction easements at various locations (Map 1.3).

The proposed structure is a cast-in-place concrete box girder with typical spans of 150 to 200 feet in length (approximately twice the span of the existing structure). The structure will require new support shafts, pilings, and footings throughout the project area. The 69 new shafts will measure from 2 feet to 8-1/2 feet in diameter and will be drilled to a range of depth between 32 feet and 97 feet (Figure 1.1b). The 88 new footings will range in size from 12 by 12 feet to 39 by 21 feet and will be placed at depths of from 4 feet to 31 feet (Figure 1.1a). Piles, which will be driven beneath the columns and footings, will range in depth from 43 feet to 82 feet. The footings support the columns and elevated structure.

Existing footings range in size from 8 by 9 feet to 24 by 24 feet. Existing columns will be cut off at ground level, except where new columns/footings will be located in the same place. In the latter case, the existing columns/footings will be excavated and removed. The proposed routes for the relocation of utilities have yet to be determined. The majority, however, will be replaced beneath existing surface streets.

1.1.2 Project Memorandum of Agreement

Due to the extreme time constraints placed upon the construction schedule, this project is following a modified approach to Section 106 compliance as stipulated in the Memorandum of Agreement signed by the FHWA, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (Council), and the California Department of Transportation (CALTRANS) pursuant to 36 CFR Part 800, regulations implementing Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (16 U.S.C. 470f). This report fulfills stipulations 1 and 2 of that agreement. The California State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO) declined to comment on this project.

The significance of archaeological properties is generally evaluated by assessing their potential eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) under criterion D. Preliminary research indicated that this would be the case with the majority of potential properties in the SF-480 project area. The Section 106 process treats these sites through several distinct stages, including identification, evaluation, assessment of effect, and—where appropriate—treatment, which may include data recovery. According to FHWA policy, data recovery is limited to areas

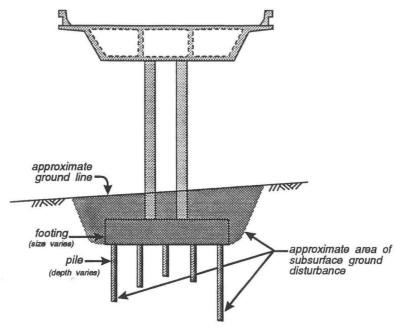


Figure 1a: Cross section through typical spread/pile bent

No Scale

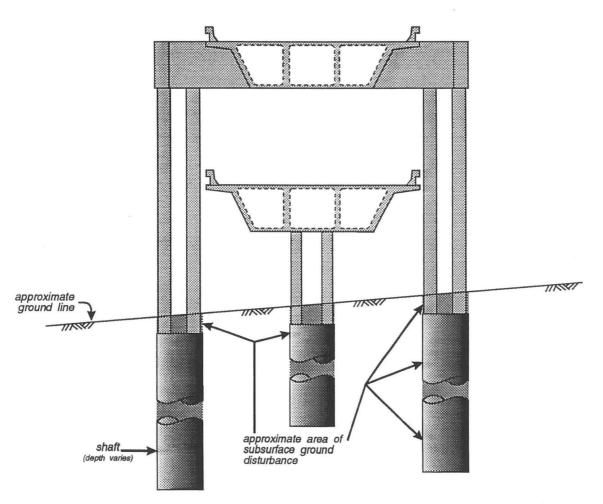


Figure 1b: Cross section through typical shaft/pile bent

subject to direct impacts. At each stage, reports are prepared that provide more information about the properties, and the effect of the proposed action on them, and make recommendations for additional work necessary to complete the Section 106 process.

Under the standard procedures of the Council, the identification stage is documented in a technical report. Next, an evaluation plan is prepared, approved by the lead Federal agency and the Council, and carried out; the evaluation is also documented in a technical report. If data recovery excavation is found to be necessary, a detailed research design and data recovery plan must be written and approved before final excavation is permitted.

While this phased approach ensures that archaeological properties are treated appropriately in relation to their importance and the nature of the project impact, it can be very time consuming. This is particularly significant in cities, where paving and fill necessitate that the identification process involve the kind of subsurface examination that elsewhere is generally reserved for evaluation level excavations.

For the SF-480 project, the identification, evaluation, and data recovery phases will be collapsed into a single operation. This will be accomplished by applying the detailed research design presented herein during the identification phase. Employing specific criteria, evaluations will be made during a combined identification/evaluation stage. In short, the NRHP-eligibility potential of archaeological features will be evaluated as they are uncovered. Where a feature does not meet the criteria presented in this document, it will be determined to be potentially NRHP-ineligible. Deposits that exhibit the specified characteristics will be treated as potentially eligible, and data recovery will be carried out according to Secretary of the Interior's *Standards and Guidelines for Archaeological Documentation*. See Section 5.4.4 for evaluation criteria and procedures for evaluation.

1.1.3 Study Area, Study Blocks

The SF-480 project area is included within 10 city blocks in the South of Market district of San Francisco, numbered from east to west for the purposes of this study and portrayed on Map 1.3. These blocks are part of two distinct neighborhoods. The Tar Flat area includes Blocks 1 through 4. Tar Flat was the earliest site of heavy industry on the West Coast. It contained many iron and brass foundries, blacksmith shops, boat-building yards, and other industrial sites. Tar Flat earned its name from the quantities of coal tar dumped into the then-unfilled portions of the bay by the San Francisco Gas Company from the mid-1850s. Workers in these industries also made Tar Flat their home, thus dwellings, hotels, boarding houses, and saloons were found dispersed among the warehouses, yards, and foundries.

In sharp contrast to Tar Flat, Rincon Hill (Blocks 6,7, and 8) housed the San Francisco elite of the early years and was the city's first exclusive address. Following the 1869 Second Street cut, the neighborhood declined, and the great mansions became nursing homes and boarding houses. Following the fire of 1906, the area was rebuilt with very simple housing for the city's poorest. Block 5 is a transitional block between the worker-oriented blocks on Tar Flat and the elite on Rincon Hill. Block 9 is another transitional block between the splendor of Rincon Hill and the simple residences on Mission Bay on Block 10.

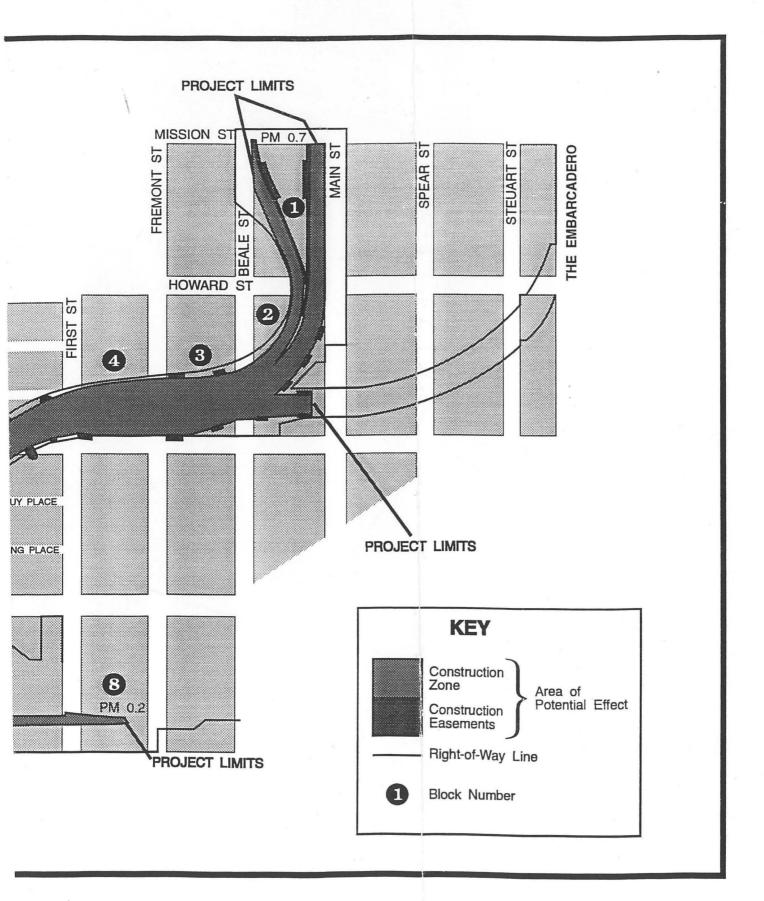
1.1.4 Preliminary Studies

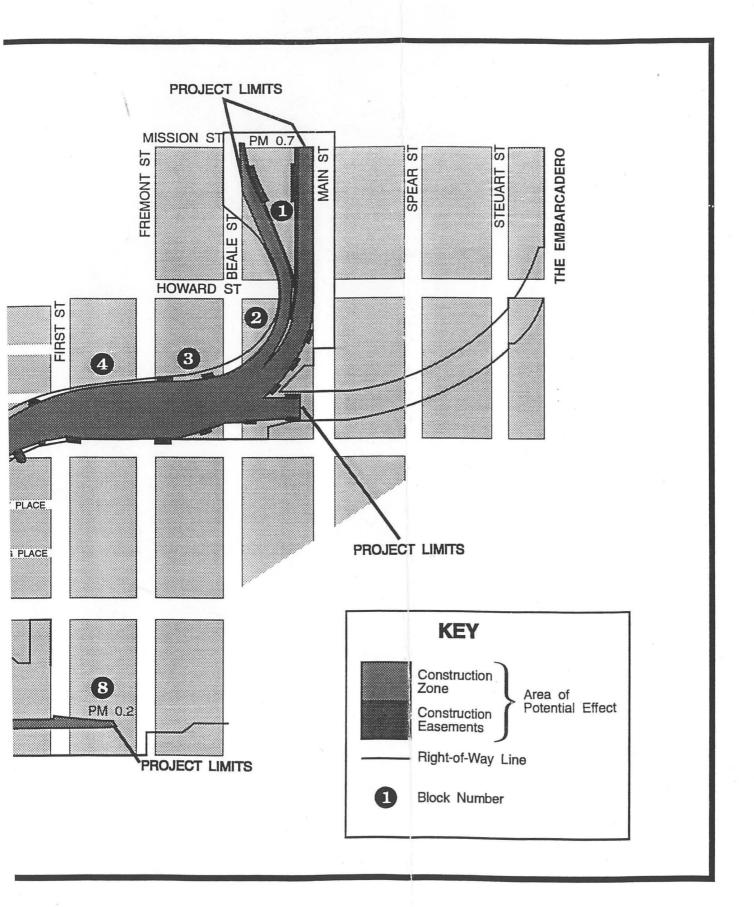
An early objective of the archaeological component of the SF-480 project was to create a predictive model of the archaeological potential of the project area. Archaeological potential is defined herein as the likelihood that significant archaeological remains have survived to the present. This is a particularly important preliminary step since the topography of San Francisco has been subjected to much change--both excavation and filling--over the past 150 years. The predictive model was designed to enable archaeologists to concentrate their efforts in locations where the topography has remained unchanged or to which fill has been added, while avoiding potentially less productive areas, where the original ground surface has been removed or disturbed.

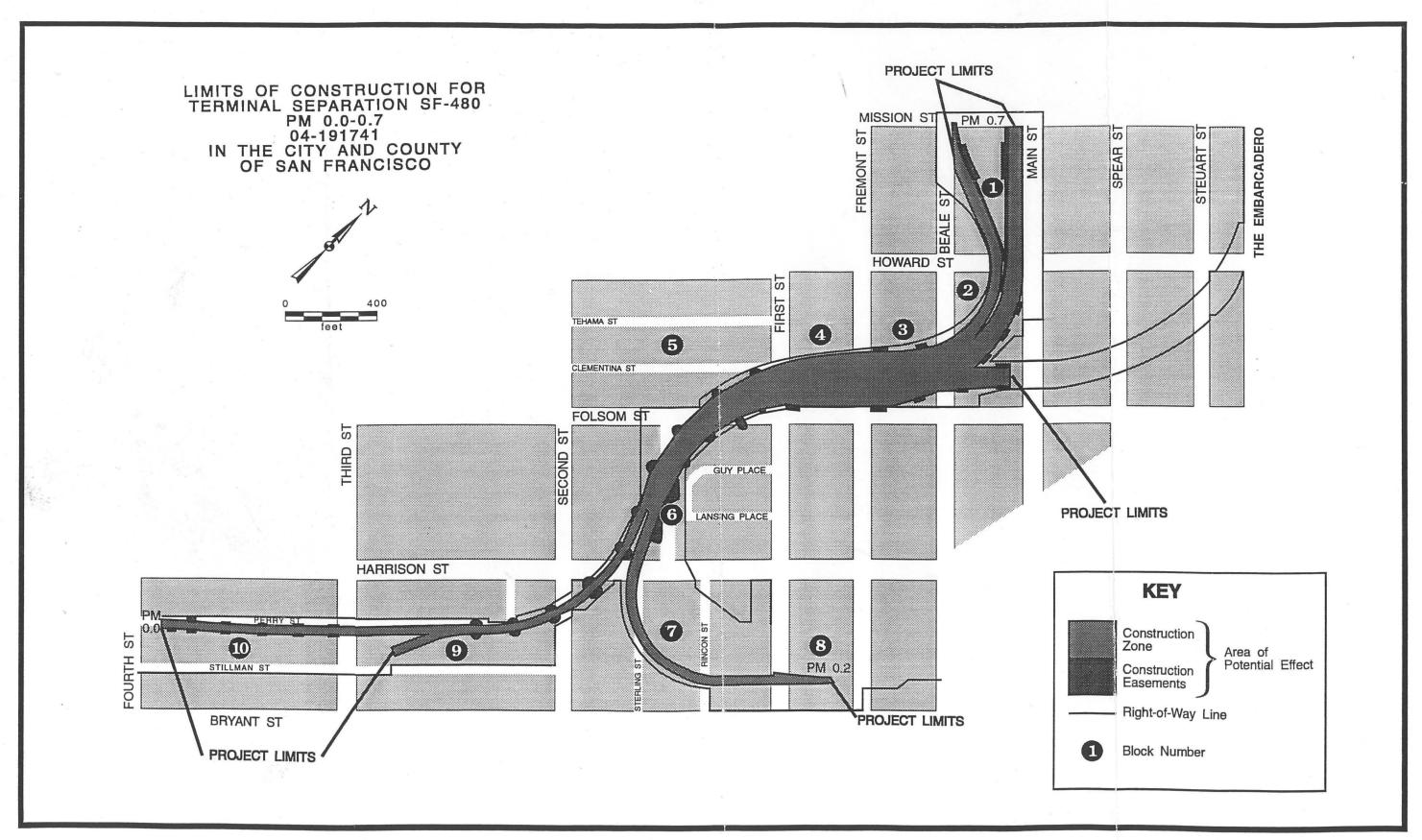
The topography of the project area during the period when potentially important historic-period archaeological deposits may have been being created was compared to that of the more recent past (A. Praetzellis 1991; Map 1.4). In this way, the extent of post-depositional disturbance on the potential archaeological remains was defined. The project area was also delineated over Sanborn Company insurance maps from 1887 to the 1930s to create a precise view of the use of this area during these years.

The sensitivity study resulting from this analysis characterized the archaeological survival potential of portions of the project area as either "low"--those where the native soil has been removed, or "high"--those locations where either fill has been added or the elevation has not significantly changed. In addition, certain areas clearly possess low archaeological research potential. These are places, such as early roadways, where important archaeological remains are unlikely to have ever existed in the historic period. The following general sensitivity projections were developed:

Areas of Low Archaeological Survival Potential: The excavation of the Second Street cut, terracing the lower slopes of Rincon Hill, and the construction of Highway 480







Map 1.3: Area of Potential Effect

appear to have destroyed archaeological deposits that may have been present in the following sections: corner of Second and Harrison streets; corner of Essex and Harrison streets; corner of Essex and Folsom streets; and the block bounded by Bryant, Sterling, and Rincon (Blocks 6 and 7).

Areas of High Archaeological Survival Potential: All areas to the north of Folsom Street (Blocks 1 through 5) have high survival potential. The portions bounded by Beale, Folsom, and Main are reclaimed land. There is physical evidence of the integrity of the block bounded by Bryant, First, Rincon, and Harrison (portion of Block 7). Portions of the section between Second and Fourth streets also appear to have good integrity (Blocks 9 and 10).

Areas of Low Historic Archaeological Research Potential: This category appears to apply to the portion of the study area between Fourth Street and approximately Vassar Street (Block 10, portion Block 9). In this area, the project passes over land that historically has been roadway (i.e., Perry Street) and building frontages. Although historical research may prove this assertion to be inaccurate, at this time it seems unlikely that legally important remains would have been created in these locations. The area has the potential, however, for prehistoric remains.

Areas of High Archaeological Survival and Research Potential: These areas consist of property between approximately Vassar and Second streets (portion of Block 9); the block bounded by Bryant, Harrison, Rincon, and First (portion Block 7); and all portions of the study area to the north of Folsom Street (Blocks 1 through 5).

A Guide to Historical Research in San Francisco (N. Olmsted 1991) was produced concurrently with the sensitivity analysis. This guide outlined the methods and sources for research used to produce portions of this study.

1.1.5 Report Goals

According to National Park Service (NPS) guidelines, archaeological sites in urban areas "are likely to be more or less invisible, buried under modern created land surfaces." For this reason, the discovery phase of urban archaeological research ['reconnaissance'] "consists of field checking predictions made on the basis of archival research" (NPS 1985:36).

Guidelines issued by the Council in its booklet *Identification of Historic Properties* provide more detail, stating that the identification phase consists of using "available information to develop a 'predictive model' indicating where historic properties are likely to exist." The

guidelines go on to state that "a predictive model should not be regarded as reliable until it has been tested against objective information derived from field work." To test a model, it is necessary to inspect "both locations that are predicted to contain historic properties and locations that are predicted <u>not</u> to contain them" (ACHP 1988:21-22; emphasis in original).

The Council's regulations for *Identification and Consideration of Archaeological Properties* in an Urban Context (36 CFR 801) also recognize the problems in identifying urban archaeological phenomena. The regulations require archival research to define the likelihood that (1) potentially NRHP-eligible properties <u>may</u> have been created on the site and that (2) subsequent disturbance would have destroyed them. Where potentially eligible properties are likely to be present, the project proponent must "fund a professionally supervised and planned archaeological salvage program."

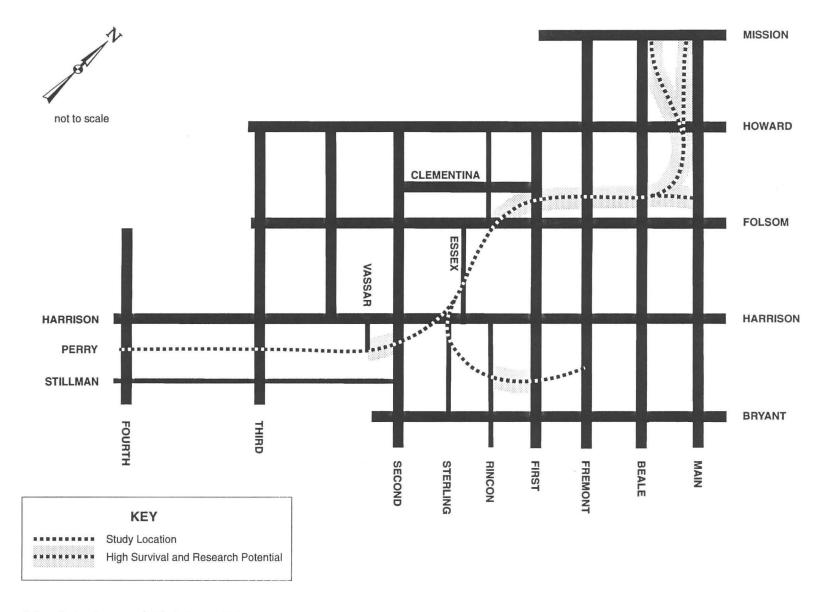
The preliminary sensitivity analysis described above was focused and fine-tuned for the present report. Archival research aimed at identifying potentially National Register-eligible properties focused on those locations within impact areas specified above as having both high survival and research potential. In generating data to produce the historic context, data requirements, and research questions, the historical research covered each project block to some extent, although emphasis was given to those that appeared to have the highest archaeological potential.

Since the project MOA specifies that evaluations are to be made in the field--allowing little time for the archaeologists to reflect on their decisions--it is essential that criteria are available that define the qualities that a property must possess for it to be NRHP-eligible. Thus an important goal of this document is to provide this essential guidance in the form of several property type-specific research designs.

The goals of this document are to identify archaeological test locations where high research and survival potential coincide with project impacts; to provide the historic context, including research questions, evaluation criteria, and data requirements, within which to evaluate properties discovered during testing; and to supply a treatment plan for data recovery for potentially eligible properties.

1.2 Report Format

Chapter 2 provides an overview of San Francisco focusing on the project area. Chapter 3 focuses on the history of individual project blocks. These histories are the product of block- and parcel-specific research using documents such as the U.S. Census, historic maps, city directories,



Map 1.4: Areas of High Sensitivity

Map on the reverse of this page

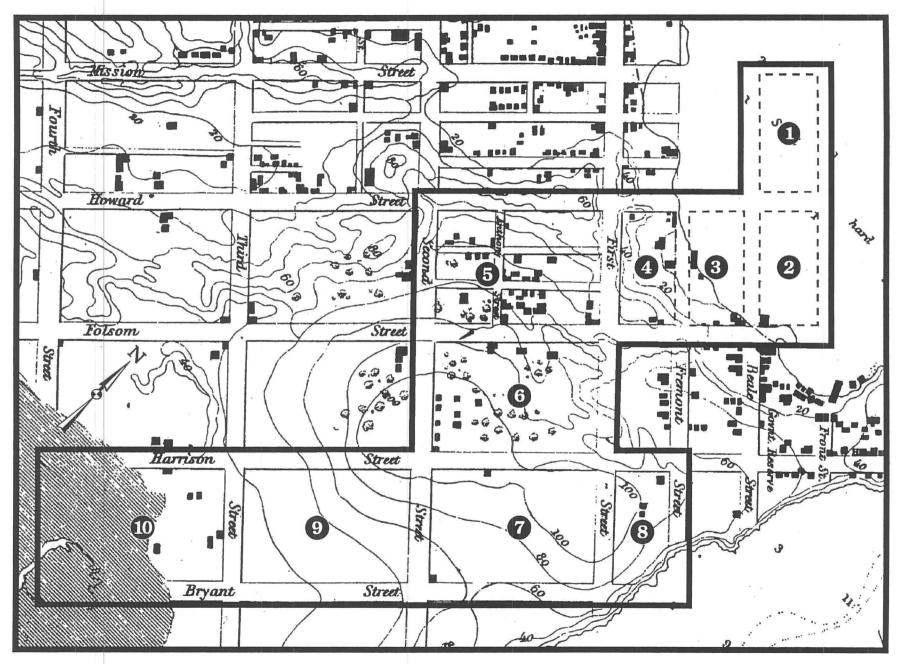
tax and real estate records with the object of creating a tightly focused outline of the activities that were carried out within the project area.

Chapter 4 identifies important research issues to which a site must contribute to be considered eligible to the NRHP under criterion D. On the basis of the preceding chapters, the research design constructs a series of general historical themes and poses a number of specific questions that the anticipated archaeological remains can address. The data requirements--both archaeological and historic/archival--of each research theme are also defined. The research design identifies types of properties that are expected to be encountered during the identification phase. Anticipated property types range from discrete caches of domestic refuse and the by-products of iron foundries, to the abandoned hulks of sailing ships that were covered up as the San Francisco shoreline was extended northward.

Chapter 5 uses historical research to recommend archaeological test locations for specific property types identified in the research design. A number of evaluative criteria are established for use during field work. These criteria define characteristics that must be present for a property to be considered potentially eligible to the NRHP. The criteria consider both the physical integrity and research potential of each property type. Methods for identification, primarily the use of heavy equipment to clear fill deposits, and the extent and nature of "testing" required before a deposit is considered potentially NRHP-eligible are defined, as well as the level of documentation necessary for properties considered ineligible. Some areas originally proposed for testing were found to be in areas of contaminated soils requiring special handling and posing potential health risks to archaeologists working on the sites. These test locations have been dropped. CALTRANS retained an industrial hygienist to prepare a site safety plan for the work proposed herein. This document will be used to guide field decisions (TRC 1993). The degree of risk to excavators and the stipulations for soil handling and disposal have yet to be determined for some test locations that are in areas of potentially contaminated soil. Should additional health risks be identified, the need for archaeological excavation will be reassessed in relation to the potential significance of the proposed test locations.

Chapter 6 presents a treatment plan for data recovery that specifies requirements for excavation and recording techniques. It includes a discussion of all components of data recovery plans mentioned in the Council's *Treatment of Archaeological Properties*.





Map 2.2: Detail of San Francisco, 1852/53, Showing Project Study Area (U.S. Coast Survey)

2.0 OVERVIEW

2.1 ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

2.1.1 Geology by R. B. G.-Naidu and Susan H. Alvarez

The entire SF-480 project area is underlain by Franciscan Complex basement rocks. The Franciscan Complex is a rock stratigraphic unit composed of various rock types resulting from episodic structural aggregation (Fox 1983) associated with activity between oceanic and continental crustal plates. The Franciscan thus varies in age from place to place. Franciscan and probably correlative rock units are widespread along the western margin of North America, ranging in age from Jurassic through Tertiary. The Franciscan within the project area, which may be up to 10,000 feet thick, consists mostly of graywacke sandstone with smaller amounts of shale, siltstone, mafic volcanics, chert, conglomerate, limestone, and glaucophane schist, all usually intruded by serpentine. Age-diagnostic fossils from the Franciscan are Cretaceous (Schlocker 1974). Fauna from the project area and vicinity number at least 15 species, including benthic annelids (G.-Naidu 1982), pelagic cephalopods (Bailey et al. 1964), and marine reptiles (Camp 1942). Hills in the project vicinity are of exposed, resistant Franciscan. Excavations and subsurface borings through lower-lying surficial deposits suggest that covered Franciscan bedrock maintains considerable topographic relief (see Schlocker 1974:Plate 1).

Latest Tertiary and Recent sediments overlie the bedrock of the San Francisco peninsula. Stratigraphic columns from the project vicinity record as much as 225 feet of these late Pleistocene and Holocene sediments (Schlocker 1974:Plate 1). In the project area, these are separable into undivided surficial deposits with interbedded or intertongued "bay mud" and Colma Formation, a late Pleistocene sandstone probably of estuarine and coastal origin (Schlocker 1974). The Colma Formation and bay mud are overlain by up to 150 feet of dune sand (Schlocker 1974:Plate 1). From southern San Francisco Bay, where Atwater et al. (1977) recorded late Pleistocene estuarine, eolian, and alluvial deposits ranging from 125,000 to more than 40,000 years old, overlying Holocene estuarine deposits are younger than about 11,000 years.

The Holocene estuarine deposits of southern San Francisco Bay probably correlate with the bay mud of the project area, and the southern late Pleistocene deposits are apparently partly correlative with the Colma Formation (Atwater et al. 1977:5). According to Atwater et al. (1977),

older Pleistocene estuarine deposits of southern San Francisco Bay, which record water depths of up to 20 to 40 meters near Yerba Buena Island, are probably coeval with the lowest widespread marine terrace of coastal California. The overlying eolian deposits locally interfinger with alluvial strata and may correlate with some of the extensive dune sands in San Francisco. This indicates that dune environments separated by local stream valleys and bedrock hills may have existed on the San Francisco peninsula 40,000 years ago. The late Pleistocene alluvial deposits consist of silt, sand, gravel, and minor peat, suggesting that alluvial fans, a southern trunk stream, and adjacent valley freshwater marshes existed prior to the early Holocene rise in sea level (Atwater et al. 1977). The rising sea entered the Golden Gate 10,000 to 11,000 years ago; the rate of relative rise in sea level of San Francisco Bay was about 2 centimeters per year from 9,500 to 8,000 years ago, and 0.1 to 0.2 centimeters per year from 6,000 years ago to the present (Atwater et al. 1977:11). The uppermost Holocene estuarine deposits suggest an estuarine environment fringed with salt marshes that advanced bayward as a result of nearshore deposition (Atwater et al. 1977). This indicates that local siltation, and probably tectonic uplift, exceeded rates of sea level rise in the later Holocene.

Rancholabrean Age fossils from the aggregate surficial sediments in or near the project area include juniper (Schlocker 1974); pine (Axelrod 1967); insects (Hall 1965); molluscs (Atwater et al. 1977); numerous mammals, including mammoth, bison, and ground sloth (G.-Naidu 1982 and personal observation in museum repositories; Schlocker 1974; Stirton 1951); and birds (G.-Naidu 1982; Miller and Peabody 1941). Plant fossils from similar sediments south of the project area, associated with similar mammal taxa, suggest that a cooler, wetter climate than today prevailed about 24,000 years ago (Atwater et al. 1977:6).

Henn et al. (1972) recorded 40 feet of clayey silt overlying older sands and silts from the area of the Civic Center BART station. The clayey silt contained human skeletal remains, and associated organic debris gave a radiocarbon date of about 5,000 years before present (Henn et al. 1972). Associated plant remains, including horsetail rush, willow, grasses, and freshwater and marine diatoms, suggest that the depositional environment was a brackish marsh in or near a freshwater channel. Capping the clayey silts of this site are about 20 feet of dune sands (Henn et al. 1972). The dunes consist of sand originally derived primarily from the Merced and Colma formations, which was probably swept eastward from Ocean Beach and S. Baker's Beach (Schlocker 1974:77-78). These dunes historically reached to, or nearly to, the head of former Yerba Buena Cove. About 30 feet of historic fill overlie the dune sands at the Civic Center BART site (Henn et al. 1972), and fill may reach 40 feet in thickness in the project area (Schlocker 1974:Plate 1).

2.1.2 The Prehistoric Setting by Susan H. Alvarez

Approximately 10,000 years ago, the Pacific Ocean entered the Golden Gate, drowning a large river mouth and long lowland, thus forming San Francisco Bay and effectively splitting the Coast Ranges in two. Seawater and two inland drainages, the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers, combined to create California's largest estuary. Eventually, quantities of interior sediments pouring naturally into the bay formed thick mud deposits on the bay floor and margins, the latter being mud flats exposed during low tides. In several places, rocky hillsides, such as those characteristic of the southern arm of the Golden Gate, rise abruptly from bay waters; rocky cliffs are also present on the seaward sides of the northern and southern peninsulas that define the bay.

Prehistorically, deep bay waters, thick mud flats, large and small estuaries, and salt marshes, as well as surf-swept rocky shores and sand beaches, resulted in a diverse array of biotic communities on the San Francisco peninsula. A large marsh stretched inland from the eastern peninsula shore south of Rincon Hill. Teeming with animal and vegetable life, these environs provided a breadth of accessible foods and materials for human use. Marine fauna included a variety of fish and sea mammals, mud-flat and rocky-shore molluscan species, and marsh-dwelling water fowl. Terrestrial plant communities on the San Francisco peninsula included grasslands interspersed with low-growing shrubs, riparian habitats bordering small streams, and tules, grasses, and cattails surrounding a lagoon and small freshwater lake. These plant communities supported large and small game, such as deer, rabbit, and birds.

The northern San Francisco peninsula is exposed. Wind, fog, and low mean summer temperatures, while not extreme, result in a setting less desirable for human habitation than inland valleys and protected bayside lowlands. Between November and March, the rainy season prevails, and winds reach speeds up to 62 miles per hour (Schlocker 1974:5-6).

Because estuarine, marsh, and deep-water bay communities depend heavily upon inland sediment-borne nutrients and nutrients released by freshwater flow through the marshes, even slight environmental alteration--natural or artificial--may result in faunal and floral change (Bakker 1971). For instance, there is evidence that when the deeper bay waters remained clear, oyster beds flourished as early as 5,700 years ago (A. Howard 1979:94). The largest of these beds appears to have thrived between 2,300 and 2,500 years ago, while more recently, smaller, patchy beds formed. Periodic silt inundations of the bay floor occurred in sufficient magnitude to alter these vast beds through time. During recent history, between 1945 and 1956, there occurred a "period of monotony with temperature fluctuations consistently - but of less magnitude - below established averages and wind consistently a little stronger. The sea level at San Francisco was somewhat higher for the period" (Ricketts and Calvin 1968:428-429). Ricketts and

Calvin (1968) considered natural conditions during this period to be as influential in the demise of the Pacific Coast sardine population as the frequently cited human influence. Similar alterations in the prehistoric San Francisco Bay environment would have resulted in impacts to human food and material resources.

Within the project area, Rincon Hill, at the base of the Rincon Point arm, is a rocky Franciscan topographic high formerly abutting dune and beach-sand deposits west of the hill. Geologic literature and an 1850s topographic map (Schlocker 1974:89) indicate that several streams flowed northeast through the small valley between Rincon and Nob hills. Prior to 1850s filling, the streams converged and drained into former Yerba Buena Cove. The northern portion of the project area (Blocks 1, 2, and 3) lies within the former Yerba Buena Cove, while the southwestern portion (Block 10) rests on fill accumulation covering the lower, gentler, southfacing slope of Rincon Hill, adjacent to a former marsh. To the east of Block 10, the project area is situated mid-slope (Block 9) and on the upper slope (Blocks 6, 7, and 8) of Rincon Hill. The western project area (Blocks 4 and 5) is situated between 10 and 40 feet above sea level on the edge of a former stream valley (see Map 2.1).

2.2 PREHISTORIC OVERVIEW by Susan H. Alvarez

The entire Costanoan frontage on ocean and bay is lined with shell deposits. San Francisco Bay in particular is richer in such remains than any other part of the state, except Santa Barbara Island [Kroeber 1925:466].

Midden deposits containing shell in close proximity to the former bayshore characterize nearly all identified San Francisco Bay area prehistoric archaeological sites. These shell mounds contain evidence for environmental influences on bay area prehistoric human land use, specific subsistence practices, and alterations in those practices in response to environmental fluctuations. Due to rises in sea level, bayshore sites may extend below present sea level; and, marshes, shellfish beds, and even human remains lie buried in relation to former shorelines (Bickel 1978:10-11).

Since the early 1900s, scholarly attention to the San Francisco Bay region focused on archaeological sites bordering San Francisco, San Pablo, and Suisun bays, but San Francisco itself received only limited attention. Just as early and heavy indigenous population losses resulted in sparse ethnographic information, early urbanization as well as natural impacts buried or destroyed many of the archaeological resources on the southern promontory enclosing San Francisco Bay. In his analysis of shellmound distribution, N.C. Nelson stated that the list of separate accumulations of shell deposits examined in the entire San Francisco Bay region "certainly falls short . . . of the number that originally existed . . ." (1909:322).

Summaries and evaluations of the current body of San Francisco peninsula archaeological knowledge, based on early as well as recent field work, are presented in M. Rudo's (1982) Master's thesis as well as in reports prepared in conjunction with San Francisco peninsula development projects (e.g., Olmsted et al. 1982; Pastron and Walsh 1988b; Wirth and Associates 1979a). The latter provide context for assessing potential for and significance of cultural remains within specific areas of development.

Early San Francisco Bay area archaeological field studies were conducted mostly on the eastern, southern, and northern bay shores, and while there have been important contributions to methodological and regional research development, pioneer investigators focused primarily on building a body of data. M. Uhle's 1902 work at the Emeryville shell mound was the first to recognize culture change in Bay Area prehistory, a notion that was rejected by many researchers until the 1920s (Moratto 1984:228-229). Between 1906 and 1908, Nelson excavated the Ellis Landing site corroborating Uhle's findings. At the same time, Nelson conducted the first intensive survey of San Francisco Bay and open coast north to Fort Ross and south to Monterey Bay (Nelson 1909). He enumerated over 400 "shell heaps, earth mounds, and a few minor localities

that cannot be termed anything but temporary camp sites" (1909:310). Eighteen sites Nelson (n.d.) identified and mapped are within San Francisco County.

Archaeological excavations at San Francisco bayshore sites recovered evidence of long-term occupation (Nelson 1910b) and year-round use of bay resources (H. Howard 1929). In addition to establishing that San Francisco bayshore land use occurred over a long period of time (e.g., up to 3,500 years at Ellis Landing [Nelson 1910b]), these early stratigraphic studies led to the investigation of culture change in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta and eventually to the development of the Central California Taxonomic Systems.

In contrast to the broadly sloping eastern bayshore, where shell mounds have remained visible and have stirred interest since the 1850s, archaeological sites are less visible on the heavily urbanized peninsula, which is dominated by high hills, ridges, and rocky cliffs. Nonetheless, of the 26 known sites on the San Francisco peninsula north of the San Bruno Mountains, 16 have yielded cultural materials and/or human skeletal remains. Rudo's 1982 Master's thesis summarizes not only archaeological studies within San Francisco County, but also includes newspaper and journal reports as well as an accounting of avocationalists' finds since the 1850s. Rudo (1982:10-27) cites 11 investigations and avocational collections that have yielded a total of 45 prehistoric human burials discovered on the peninsula from the Bayshore Mound (CA-SFr-7), to the northern tip, as well as Goat Island. Table 2.1 presents these finds, excluding four burials on Goat Island, with depths below present ground surface (DBPS) where available.

Table 2.1: Human Remains Reported or Recovered from San Francisco Peninsula (compiled from Rudo 1982)
Site#

51te#					
SFr-	Location	Human Remains	<u>DBPS</u>	Date	Source
2	3rd/Harrison	2 adults	?	1910	D.J. & T. Sullivan
					Folsom Street
6	Presidio	Unidentified	?	1912	S.F. Examiner 8/15/12
26	Presidio	1	250 cm	1972	Hegler & Moratto
-	Presidio	Cremation	6-10'	1872	C.D. Voy Collection
7	Bayshore Md.	23 juvenile and	2'	1910	Nelson Excavation
		adults			
17	Islais Creek	6	4'	1931	Loud Excavation
17	Islais Creek	1 adult	?	1951	Lathrap Excavation
23	Hyde/Beach St	1 adult	cut bank	<1860	Daily Alta California
28	BART/Market	1 adult	22.9 m	1969	Henn et al. 1972
-	? within City	4 crania	?	1905	Pocock

Additionally, San Francisco peninsula human skeletal remains and/or associated organic materials and gravels provide the oldest established dates for human presence in the Bay Area. On the western bayshore, between the peninsula tip and the head of the southern bay arm, human skeletal material has been radiocarbon dated from 2,400 to 5,000 B.P. (Bickel 1978a:10, 1978b; Henn et al. 1972:209; Moratto 1984:266-267). Table 2.2 lists western bayshore sites yielding evidence of human presence resulting in radiocarbon determinations older than 2,400 years and the depths of these dated materials below present ground surface.

Table 2.2: Radiocarbon Results from West Bayshore Sites (from Bickel 1978; Henn et al. 1972; and Moratto 1984)

Site Name	TIME DEPTH	<u>DEPTH</u>	Associated Cultural Material
BART Site (CA-SFr-28)	4900+/-250 B.P. (organic material)	22.9 meters	none
Sunnyvale	4460+/-95 B.P. (charcoal)	unknown	none
Stanford Man 1	3-4000 years old (gravels)	6.1 meters	none
Stanford Man 2	2450+/-270 B.P. 2400+/-125 B.P. (Bone collagen)	5.2 meters	3 large side-notched or expanding stem points

2.2.1 Northern San Francisco Peninsula Archaeology

2.2.1.1 Early Work in San Francisco

The first major San Francisco peninsula archaeological excavation was conducted in 1910. N.C. Nelson systematically excavated the largest (SFr-7) of the 10 to 12 Bayshore, or Crocker, mounds near Johnson's Landing (Nelson 1910a). L.L. Loud (1912a) also excavated several bay area shellmounds including, in 1912, one San Francisco peninsula site (CA-SFr-6) near the Palace of Fine Arts. Nelson's Bayshore mounds excavation records, as well as those concerning Loud's investigations, on file at the Pheobe Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, remain unpublished manuscripts (Nelson 1910a; Loud 1912a). Moratto remarks that, in the intervening

"70 years, no one has excavated more [volume] than did Nelson in 1910 . . . or Loud in 1912" (1984:267).

Several more recent excavations were conducted on the peninsula (S. Baker 1978; Holman et al. 1977; Moratto and Hegler 1972) and, specifically, within several blocks of the project area (Pastron and Walsh 1988a, 1988b). These studies, along with the Nelson (1910a) and Loud (1912a) excavations and materials recovered by 19th-century avocationalists have resulted in curated collections of a variety of cultural materials. In summary, formed lithic and bone tools, lithic flaking debris, charmstones, perforated mica ornaments, *Olivella* beads, *Haliotis* ornaments, mortars and groundstone, cooking stones, and heat-affected rock have been recovered. Four sites (SFr-2, -112, -113, and 114) within or near the current project area, yielded imported materials such as obsidian, quartz crystals, mica, and ochre. Site excavation details, including depth below present ground surface and a summary of recovered materials, are presented in Table 2.3. All sites contained dietary remains except for CA-SFr-26, which consisted of human remains and a single artifact (Moratto 1984:267).

Table 2.3: Northern San Francisco Peninsula Archaeological Excavations

Site Name/#'s	<u>C-14</u>	<u>DBPS</u>	Cultural Material
Palace of Fine Arts, CA-SFr-6 (Loud 1912 a-b)			modified bone
CA-SFr-6? (Voy 1872 [Rudo 1982])		6 - 10 ft	perforated mica ornaments
Presidio, CA-SFr-26 (Helger and Moratto 1973)	1210+/- 85 BP	2.5 m	cut/polished bird bone
Bayshore Mound, CA-SFr-7 (N#387) Nelson 1910a)		2 ft	groundstone, bone, hearths, historic
Sutro Baths, CA-SFr-5, -21, & -24 (Holman et al. 197)	7)		chert, obsidian, fire-affected rock
CA-SFr-29, -30, -31	1475+/-100) BP	hearth, lithics, fire-affected rock
(Baker et al. 1978a-c)	1700 BP		
CA-SFr-2, 3rd & Harrison* (Nelson 1909)		6 ft (2 m)	shell, bone, cooking stones

CA-SFr-112, 49 Stevenson* (Pastron and Walsh 1988a)	5.1 m	flaked lithics, charmstones, milling equipment, beads, modified bone
CA-SFr-113, Emporium* (Walsh 1989b)	3.2 - 4.8 m	flaked lithics, bone tools, groundstone
CA-SFr-114, 4th & 3rd * at Howard (Walsh 1986c)	3 - 4.5 m	obsidian bifaces, bone awls, fire-affected rock

^{*} sites within or adjacent to the project area

Nelson's 1910 notes (MS 355 in the Hearst Museum, Berkeley) list 23 adult and juvenile human burials, formed stone and bone tools, and shell and bone dietary debris recovered from the Bayshore mounds (CA-SFr-7), south of the current project area. The variety of artifacts and faunal materials, as well as the number of burials, suggests that this was a long-standing and well-used site of occupation. Loud's 1912 notes (MS 362) from CA-SFr-6 describe a "deposit 3ft thick resting on a sort of quicksand at the time of excavation Sep 30 - Oct 3, 1912. Dredgers for the Panama Exhibition had raised the water level of the lagoon 2.1 ft. above high tide level." Loud excavated five, 6- to 10-foot squares to a depth of 2.5 feet in the center of the mound, which was 8 feet higher than the water level. Most of the animal bone and shell material occurred at a depth of 1 to 2 feet; bones recovered at a depth of 6 inches were saved (Loud 1912a).

While neither the Nelson nor Loud excavations were ever fully reported, and published analyses of recovered materials are limited, data from CA-SFr-6 and -7 have been used in major syntheses of San Francisco Bay Area archaeology (e.g., Beardsley 1948, 1954; Gifford 1916, 1940, 1947). E. Gifford's 1916 *Composition of California Shellmounds* includes one sample from a depth of 1-1/2 feet from the Palace of Fine Arts site (CA-SFr-6). Although from a relatively shallow depth, the SFr-6 sample proved to contain remains of 10 species of shellfish (Gifford 1916:24). Gifford (1912) described CA-SFr-6, in a swamp--a former "freshwater lagoon prior to 1912 impact," as "situated in a position favorable for the hunting of both bay and ocean species" (Gifford 1916:7). Gifford (1940, 1947) also included Bayshore mound (CA-SFr-7) artifacts in his California shell and bone typologies. R.K. Beardsley (1948, 1954) included Bayshore mound materials in his landmark application of the Central California Taxonomic System (CCTS) to demonstrate temporal and areal relationships between culture sequences in differing environmental zones.

Beardsley identified three facies for the San Francisco Bay, with materials from Ellis Landing typifying the Ellis Landing Facies of the Middle Horizon, the Emeryville facies representing

Phase 1 of the Late Horizon, and a Contra Costa County site, CA-CCo-259, the Fernandez Facies of Phase 2 of the Late Horizon. Within the Coastal Province, mortuary data in Nelson's excavation records provided Beardsley (1948:4) with sufficient detail to identify the Bayshore B component of the Ellis Landing Facies of the Middle Horizon, Coastal Province, and the Bayshore A component of the Emeryville Facies, Phase 1 of the Late Horizon, Littoral Zone. Beardsley's (1954) later Marin coastal site focus drew parallels between the San Francisco Bay Region cultural sequence and the sequence discerned for the southern Sacramento Valley, Delta region.

While Beardsley did not recognize an Early Horizon presence on San Francisco Bay, subsequent investigations in San Mateo and Alameda counties have identified the existence of an Early Bay Area Culture (Gerow 1968), coeval with but distinctive from the Delta's Early Horizon.

The second major synthesis of San Francisco Bay area cultures was introduced by D. Fredrickson (1973, 1974), focusing on the North Coast Ranges. Fredrickson (1973) proposed that California prehistory fell into four major chronological periods, two of which were further divided into Upper and Lower units (Table 2.4).

Table 2.4: Archaeological Periods in Central California (from Fredrickson 1973:115)

Period and Dating Upper Emergent, A.D. 1500	Archaeological Site/Unit Phase 2, Late Horizon
Lower Emergent, A.D. 300	Phase 1, Late Horizon
Upper Archaic, 2000 B.C.	Middle Horizon, Intermediate Cultures
Lower Archaic, 6000 B.C.	Early Horizon Early San Francisco Bay Early Millingstone Cultures
Palaeo-Indian, 10,000 B.C.	San Dieguito Western Clovis
Early Lithic ?	Farmington? Santa Rosa Island?

Fredrickson further introduced the integrative concept of a number of separate, coeval cultures possessing similar traits: a pattern, that may occur in one or more geographic regions. And while a sequence of patterns in one region may not be identical to the sequence in another.

"technological skills and devices," "economic modes," "burial and ceremonial practices," and "variations" form the criteria for recognizing a pattern wherever it occurs (Fredrickson 1973:116-124). For Bay area ethnographic territories in the Southern District of the North Coast Ranges, Fredrickson's cultural sequence proposed the Augustine Pattern of the Emergent Period, between A.D. 300 and A.D. 1800, to replace Beardsley's upper facies in the Late Horizon. The Berkeley Pattern of the Upper Archaic Period, from ca. 2000 B.C. to A.D. 300, was proposed as an alternative to the McClure and Ellis Landing facies, Middle Horizon, nomenclature defined by Beardsley (Fredrickson 1973:165). Although some subsequent Bay Area archaeologists have adopted Fredrickson's scheme, others have retained the older Horizon sequence, while many recent researchers avoid the use of taxonomic schemes entirely.

2.2.1.2 Recent San Francisco Investigations

Results of recent site excavations at the Sutro Baths (CA-SFr-5, -21, and -24), the Presidio (CA-SFr-26), and near Fort Mason (CA-SFr-29, -30, and -31) provide seasonal land-use data (S. Baker et al. 1978a-c; Holman et al. 1977), additional radiocarbon information (Hegler and Moratto 1973), and discussion of the peninsula's temporal relationship within CCTS (S. Baker 1978:135-137).

While SFr-5, -20, and -24 are situated on sand-covered cliffs overlooking the Pacific Ocean, CA-SFr-26, -29, -30, and -31 are situated on formerly low, rocky bluffs overlooking the bay. As a result of excavation of the heavily disturbed Sutro Bath sites on the northwestern tip of the peninsula, Holman et al. (1977:16) proposed that CA-SFr-5 was a site of short-term occupation or hunting and processing of food for transport elsewhere. The quantity of mussel shell, heat-affected rock, and charcoal as well as sea mammal, deer, rodent, fish, and waterfowl remains in layered accumulations at CA-SFr-21 suggested that this site was an intermittent focus for specialized hunting, gathering, and food processing (Holman et al. 1977:23).

Additional excavation within the Presidio grounds resulted in recovery of human skeletal remains and a cut and polished bird bone from a depth of nearly 3 meters in "non-midden sand below water table" (Moratto and Hegler 1972) and subsequent recordation of CA-SFr-26, which lies in close proximity to CA-SFr-6. Radiocarbon analysis yielded a determination of 1210 +/-85 radiocarbon years B.P. (Hegler and Moratto 1973).

The Fort Mason sites were not only relatively undisturbed, but proved important sources of data regarding permanent or semi-permanent occupation activities, as well as on prehistoric peninsula inhabitants' involvement in local exchange systems. Although the CA-SFr-29, -30, and -31 excavations were limited to testing, resultant data suggested "Middle Archaic" economic

diversification with a local shellfish specialization (S. Baker 1978:134). Recovered cultural material indicated predominant use of obsidian for lithic tools; and "adequate," rather than finelyflaked tool forms; a large flaked tool, and large tool fragments, and grooved sinkers were also recovered. These indicators, as well as bead types paralleling a "possible Bay area equivalent of the 'Middle Horizon' typological assemblage" appear "reminiscent of Beardsley's (1954) Ellis Landing Facies" (S. Baker 1978:135). Radiocarbon dating techniques were applied to charcoal recovered from CA-SFr-29 and to shell samples from CA-SFr-30, yielding determinations of 1475 +/-100 B.P. on the charcoal and about 1700 radiocarbon years on the shell (S. Baker et al. 1977b, 1977c). These radiocarbon determinations correspond to Fredrickson's (1973) Middle Archaic Period of the North Coast Ranges and San Francisco Bay (S. Baker 1978:136). Additionally, in the first published analysis of prehistoric obsidian use on the San Francisco peninsula, S. Baker determined that obsidian appears to have been traded "into the Fort Mason area as finished artifacts, rather than in raw form" (1978:137). Fifty-three Fort Mason obsidian specimens were subjected to X-ray flourescence analysis, resulting in determinations of two points of origin: the majority from Napa Glass Mountain and two from Annadel in Napa and Sonoma counties, respectively (S. Baker 1978:137).

East of CA-SFr-29, -30, and -31, CA-SFr-23 was situated on the former northeast bank of a rocky promontory overlooking a protected inlet. In the late 1850s, the Daily Alta California reported that remains of a prehistoric habitation site, including human skeletal material, were eroding out of the cliff face at Hyde and Beach streets. On the basis of this report, the site was assigned trinomial CA-SFr-23 (Rudo 1982:11-12).

Archaeological investigations adjacent to the SF-480 project area are discussed in the Research Design (Section 4.2.2).

2.2.2 Costanoan Ethnographic Information

In comparison with other parts of California, primary ethnographic data for the San Francisco Peninsula are limited. The peninsula lies within former Ramaytush Costanoan territory where, due to severe population reduction during the historic period, little collection of ethnographic data was possible (Levy 1978). Therefore, application of the direct historical method to prehistoric San Francisco peninsula land use is limited. For example, this void is reflected in J.T. Davis's (1961) compilation of California ethnographic material for Trade Routes and Economic Exchange among the Indians of California. Data are lacking to suggest that the ethnographic Ramaytush Costanoan participated in export or import with even their closest neighbors to the south, the Awaswas Costanoan, while Davis' trade route map shows no trail to or from the peninsula (Davis

1961:Map 1). Thus, one is given the impression that the Ramaytush Costanoan were completely isolated and not participating in an exchange system.

Information pertinent to the study area ethnographic record must be taken from secondary sources (S. Cook 1943a-c; Levy 1978) and from Milliken's (1983) work with mission records. Subsistence practices, tribelet boundaries and village locations, and local population density estimates provide the basic data for assessing the likelihood of cultural remains in the form of middens or resource-procurement sites within the study area. In the absence of these data, reconstruction of prehistoric land use may be attempted through synthesis of prehistoric natural features of the study area and the overall picture of the lifeways of the most recent indigenous San Francisco peninsula occupants.

While Costanoan ethnographic data lack breadth, according to Levy, 18th-century explorers' accounts provide "a good deal of ethnographic information that can be located in time and space" (1978:495). J.P. Harrington's field notes provided Levy with "the most extensive single body of Costanoan ethnographic and linguistic material" (1978:495). From these sources and extant statements of Costanoans during the period between 1878 and 1933, Levy developed a cultural sketch of the Costanoan whose ancestors moved into the San Francisco and Monterey bay areas about A.D. 500. Ethnographic and linguistic investigations revealed that eight branches of Costanoan-speaking people occupied the ocean shore, south of the Golden Gate to a point about 30 miles south of Monterey Bay, and the San Francisco Bay shores, as far inland as Livermore and south to Soledad in the Salinas River valley. Of the eight languages, Ramaytush, or San Francisco Costanoan, was spoken by about 1,400 people in San Mateo and San Francisco counties (Levy 1978:485). Olhone was a name native people used historically to refer to San Francisco Bay; although it reportedly is derived from a San Mateo group (Levy 1978:494). The name has been accepted by some modern descendants for the group as a whole (e.g., Galvan 1968).

A.L. Kroeber determined that "in most instances there is no [mission] record of the location of villages, or of their interrelations as permanent towns and suburbs or summer camps" (1925:464-465). While most known ethnographic village sites formerly were far south of the current project area (Kroeber 1925; Levy 1978), Milliken (1983:74) places one village in or near the project area.

Based on mission records, Milliken (1983) proposes the tribelet name Aguazio for the single political group consisting of six important villages that controlled the San Francisco peninsula north of the San Bruno Mountains. The villages amuctac, pentlenuc, sitlintac, tubsinte, and yemalu occupied sheltered bayshore valleys, while the village chutchui was inland, adjacent to Mission San Francisco de Asis (Dolores) (Milliken 1983:72-74). Milliken (1983:74) proposes two

alternate locations for sitlintac, one likely site being near the former Yerba Buena Cove shoreline, the other, in the China Basin area at the former mouth of Mission Bay.

Events of the early historic period completely disrupted native lifeways and ultimately resulted in the virtual decimation of all Costanoan language groups. In 1776 both San Francisco de Asis and San Francisco Presidio were established on the peninsula (Hart 1987). The six villages noted above supplied the earliest Mission San Francisco de Asis (Dolores) converts (Milliken 1983:72). Indian labor was important for construction and repair of the Presidio and the related fortification Castillo de San Joaquin (now occupied by Fort Point). Native Americans also worked as household servants, vaqueros, soldiers, ship-builders, and skilled navigators and pilots (Garaventa et al. 1992; Hart 1987: 413; Lang 1979: 107, 112-113, 138).

The mortality rate at Mission San Francisco de Asis was appalling. The mission president Senan reported more than 300 deaths due solely to an 1806 measles epidemic (S. Cook 1943a:22), and Bancroft (1885[2]:374) states that by 1820, the combined San Rafael asistencia and Mission San Francisco de Asis deaths (2,100) could not be compared elsewhere in the mission system. The San Francisco mission's death rate "was nearly seventy-five percent" of its population (Bancroft 1885[2]:374).

S.F. Cook (1943) tabulated and interpreted data from mission records, official correspondence from the Spanish and Mexican periods, and ethnographic information in order to establish demographic data and identify impacts to California native populations from the historic period to the 1940s. From these varied sources, Cook (1943a:187) arrived at a pre-European Costanoan population density averaging 1.8 persons per square mile, with a maximum density occurring in the San Francisco Bay region. Cook's conclusions specific to San Francisco Bay Costanoan were that "the population in San Francisco and San Mateo counties was cleaned up by 1790" (1943a:183). From mission secularization in 1833 to the time California achieved statehood, the entire Costanoan population diminished to an estimated 864 persons (S. Cook 1943b:40), from a total of around 10,000 in 1770. American invasion impacts to the Costanoan are illustrated in Cook's (1943c:111) tabulation for population decline due to military casualties between 1848 and 1880. During this period, the Costanoan suffered 30 percent reduction (300 out of 1000), but not, according to Cook, as a result of military conflict. The Costanoans were not, S. Cook says, "so situated as to incur any American hostility whatever" (1943c:8).

In addition to incredibly high native death rates, missionization profoundly impacted Costanoan lifeways. Ritual and social activities were discouraged or prohibited and, due to missionization efforts in nearby areas, San Francisco Costanoan commingled at the mission with peoples of differing linguistic and cultural traditions who had occupied north and east bay areas (Levy 1978:486). During the Mexican period and the subsequent mission secularization, surviving

native people again were forced to relocate, most turning to labor on surrounding ranchos (Levy 1978:486). It is apparent that, due to urbanization and cataclysmic changes dating to earliest European settlement of the San Francisco peninsula prior to the American period, Costanoan culture virtually vanished from study area environs. In an example of these losses, an 1849 account describes a large, abandoned "Indian" village, including structural ruins, bones and shells, and a cremation pit on the east shore of Yerba Buena Island (Rudo 1982:10, 21). Some small groups of Native Americans remained in the city during the Gold Rush, however, "camping in the open air," gathering what they could, and begging from the settlers (Lang 1979:228 citing Englehardt 1924:318).

2.3 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

2.3.1 Spanish, Mexican, and Early American Periods, 1776-1846

Spanish Exploration and Discovery

Two facts are essential in comprehending the history of San Francisco: one is the extent of the physical isolation of California from Europe, from the East Coast of this continent, and from the Far East. The second is the overwhelming presence of San Francisco Bay--for seldom has a city been more dominated by any natural feature than San Francisco by its bay. The history of Spain and Mexico at the site of San Francisco is but a prologue to the history of the city. It is the story of why historic San Francisco Bay was so long in being discovered and why the future site of the city remained a sleepy mission and a neglected presidio for as long as it did.

Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo had sailed north of Monterey to well past the latitude of San Francisco as early as 1542, but he overlooked the narrow inlet that concealed the great bay beyond. Various sporadic explorations were made to fill reality into the mythical outlines of California. Sir Francis Drake may, or may not, have entered the great bay in 1579, but if he did, he kept the sensational discovery a secret gift to Queen Elizabeth, who had good reason to hide such an important discovery from her rival sea power, Spain. Sebastian Cermeno attempted to survey the coast in 1595, but his ship was wrecked by a gale at the north rim of a little bay he named for St. Francis--really a bight between Point Reyes and Pedro Point. Sebastian Vizcaino rediscovered the harbor at Monterey in 1603, but he did not discover the entrance to San Francisco Bay.

Even though it was in Spain's immediate and direct interest to guard her New World possessions from her arch-rivals, the British, it was 234 years after Cabrillo's bungled attempt that the Spanish managed to sail into San Francisco Bay on the San Carlos.

If Captain Gaspar de Portola had not earlier dismissed Monterey Bay as unimportant, and headed north on foot in 1769 in search of a better anchorage, the Spanish might never have found out the extent of their potential empire. In early November 1769, overlooking San Francisco Bay for the first time, the soldier Portola noted in his journal that "we have found nothing." Father Juan Crespi's diary was more perceptive: "The bay is a very fine and large harbor, such that not only all the navy of our most Catholic Majesty but those of all Europe could take shelter in it."

The first Spanish sailing exploration of San Francisco Bay took place in 1775. Its result was that, in 1776, Juan Batista De Anza marched a party of settlers and soldiers for 10 days on foot from Monterey to found the Mission San Francisco de Assis (Mission Dolores) on a tidal slough off Mission Bay, and to plant the royal flag of Spain over a windswept dune near the harbor entrance, proclaiming the outpost to be the Presidio of the King of Spain.

In the summer of 1776, a group of Yankee merchants, traders, gentleman farmers, and land speculators on the east coast of the continent were putting together a document that would empower the future of Anglo-Saxon civilization in North America.

That two such disparate events could occur with no knowledge or understanding of the intentions of the other is the consequence both of physical and cultural distance. For Spain, it became the last gasp of Empire--a string of 23 sleepy missions and a few forts guarded by rusty cannon that could seldom be persuaded to fire. Within seventy years the American flag would be raised in the village of Yerba Buena. It was the epilogue to the indigenous peoples of San Francisco Bay: it was the prologue to San Francisco as a city.

Colonization and the Mission Era, 1776-1834

San Francisco's Mission period can be considered to date from 1776-1834. From their diaries and letters, we know that the Spanish fathers viewed the California Indians as lost children, incapable of reason, and possessing an understanding of the simplest level. Further, they saw them as lost souls, doomed to eternal suffering unless baptized and converted. The priests saw themselves as inspired rescuers. Their plan was to clothe the Indians and teach them to weave cloth; to remold their diet along European lines, and teach them to raise beans, corn, and fruit; to build permanent houses and teach them to make adobe bricks. This plan would take about 10 years, the padres calculated; then, the Christian Indians would settle their families on small farms, effectively colonizing California.

But harsh conditions and disease were to decimate the neophytes, even as their culture was eradicated to accomplish the padres' goals. Captain Frederick William Beechey arrived on *H.M.S. Blossom* in 1826 and was appalled at what he saw:

If any captured Indians show a repugnance to conversion it is the practice to imprison them for a few days, and then allow them to breathe a little fresh air in a walk around the mission to observe the happy life of their converted countrymen; after which they are shut up, and continue to be incarcerated until they declare their readiness to renounce the religion of their forefathers. . . . They very soon become impressed with the manifestly superior and more comfortable mode of life of those who are at liberty. . . . The Mission in San Francisco

contained a thousand converts in 1817, who were housed in small huts around the Mission; but at present [1826] only 260 remain. . . . The huts of the absentees had all fallen into decay, and present heaps of filth and rubbish; while the remaining inmates of the mission were in miserable condition [1831, v.2:17-20].

The end of Spanish rule over Mexico in the early 1820s made the premature dissolution of the missions inevitable, simply because the relative wealth of the missions was too attractive to local notables (most of whom were members of the military garrisons and their descendants) to be left intact. Under the specious rubric of secularization, which purported to distribute Mission property to the converts, the Missions were transferred to administrators in the 1830s. In the case of Mission Dolores, by 1833 only 204 converted Native Americans were left at Mission Bay.

A Focus on the SF-480 Project Area During the Mission and Early Rancho Periods

A glance at the 1852/53 Coast Survey Chart (reproduced as Map 2.1) shows that close to two-thirds of Block 10 in the project area was adjacent to Mission Bay, with a tidal slough penetrating the southwest corner on the site of Fourth Street. Since the ancient tidal marsh was ebbing and diminishing with time, we can assume that the marsh and slough may have been somewhat more extensive 70 years previously. As discussed in the prehistoric overview section, the presence of indigenous peoples left midden remains near Third and Harrison. Effectively, Block 10 was on the edge of Mission Bay.

Mission Bay was a tidal lagoon of more than 360 acres of shallow seawater spread out to receive the sun like a great floating greenhouse. Generations of underwater vegetation grew into abundant grazing grounds for herbivores, such as sea snails. Twice a day tides swept in seawater rich in crustaceans to nourish the millions of mussels and filter feeders that burrowed in the mud. All of this tidal sea-soup provided a banquet for seabirds. Mission Bay was famous for its enormous bird population--year-round residents and visiting Canadian geese and loons. "The smelt turned the water silver," attracting egrets, herons, and osprey. Hawks, owls, and falcons fed on the multitude of mice, shrews, and rabbits in the upper reaches of the salt marsh (Olmsted 1986:2-3).

The importance of the many historic accounts of the abundance of Mission Bay wild life lies in its connection to the indigenous population. Within the SF-480 project area, Block 10 is of potential significance both in relation to the indigenous peoples who lived nearby prior to the arrival of the Spanish colonizers, and in relation to neophytes living at the Mission Dolores, who would have supplemented their meager Mission diet with fish and game from the bay.

J.S. Hittell (1878:67) places the peak of activity at Mission Dolores in 1813, listing its Indian inhabitants at 1,205, with 9,270 head of cattle, 10,210 sheep, 622 horses, and a product of 6,114 bushels of grain. Bancroft finds the highest population in 1820, with 1,252 neophytes on the rolls. He adds, "Its baptisms were exceeded only at San Jose, and its deaths, 2,100--the death rate being 63% of original population added to the baptisms" (Bancroft 1886 v.2:374).

Bancroft's dry statistics reveal the dismal reality that almost all of the neophytes brought to Mission Dolores soon died. Although the death rate from disease was high at all the missions, Mission Dolores generally had the highest death rate of any California mission, possibly because its location was less well adapted to agriculture and traditional food gathering than the areas throughout the bay region from which its neophytes were recruited. Captain Beechey was only one of a number of travellers to comment upon the disgusting conditions of the Mission Dolores.

With relation to activity on the lands within the SF-480 project area, it is important to note that although the bulk of the Mission livestock operation must have been south of the Mission Dolores, it is reasonable to assume that the Mission cattle and sheep ranged over the area north and east to Happy Valley, Pleasant Valley, and Rincon Hill. The term *Yerba Buena*--literally, "good herb"--was no doubt a reference to the good forage near the cove between Telegraph and Rincon hills. Happy Valley, between Market and Howard streets, and extending from the shore near Fremont and First to Second Street (and back to Third Street between Market and Mission) is noted in many early Gold Rush observations to have been the greenest place in the town.

William Heath Davis, recalling the year 1839, when the townsite of Yerba Buena consisted of a little village near the beach around present-day Portsmouth Square, writes of Daniel Sill, who operated the grist mill brought in by Spear & Hinkley in that year:

While employed as a miller, he was fond of going out Sunday mornings for a little hunt. I was often invited to accompany him. We would start about nine o'clock and go over to a place called Rincon, a flat between Rincon Hill and Mission Bay, and a resort for deer, the place being covered with a thick growth of scrub oak and willows, which afforded them good shelter. Presently, perhaps four or five deer would appear in sight, and Sill, drawing his old rifle to his shoulder, always got one. 'Now, William,' he would say, 'go for the yellow horse.' This was one of Spear's animals, and was known as the deer horse. I would go and saddle him, and ride over to the hunting ground. By that time, Sill usually had another deer [1889:76].

The area that Davis is describing may include the Pleasant Valley of Gold Rush times, which lay between Howard and Folsom, First and Third streets--encompassing all of Block 5 and

extending southwest to include parts of Blocks 9 and 10. The slough through Mission Bay marsh is seen extending northward on the 1852/53 Coast Survey map, and is the outlet of (perhaps seasonal) streams that came down to about Third and Harrison (Soule et al. 1855:20, Map Showing Pleasant Valley). As can be seen on the 1852/53 Coast Survey map (Map 2.1), the declivity led around the west side of Rincon Hill, towards Mission Bay, along Third Street, from Folsom, south as far as Steamboat Point. Pleasant Valley included the eastern edge of Block 10 and the western edge of Block 9.

The Rancho Period, 1834-1848

The California rancho period followed from 1834-1845, during which large land grants were made by the civil authorities, portioned out in individual tracts of land averaging about 22,000 acres. Land grants were made in response to petitions and had the intent of spreading people out across California to colonize, with the goal of settling the land as an agrarian Mexican province devoted to grazing cattle and horses.

During the Mission period we may assume that cattle grazed Pleasant Valley and Happy Valley on the project area, and that cattle from the ranchos to the south also grazed the land in the 10 years following secularization of the missions in the late 1830s. Once the herds were of sufficient size for foraging near the Mission, we can assume a time period of 30-40 years passed in which Blocks 5, 9, and 10 were grazing lands. The *vaqueros* would have been mostly former Mission neophytes, at least until the 1830s, when their numbers greatly diminished.

Excursions and picnics to the shore of Yerba Buena Cove were a common social activity during the Mission and Rancho periods. This became especially the case with the expansion of trade following secularization of the Mission in the 1830s, and the increase in the number of visiting trading vessels. William Heath Davis recalled:

After the 4th of July Celebration in 1836 at the village of Yerba Buena, picnics took place, as a continuation of the festival, generally at Point Rincon. . . . This celebration was kept up year after year on the Fourth, for a long time, until the change of government from Mexico to the United States. . . [1889:27].

In the same vein, Davis adds:

Mr. Spear informed me that during the earthquake of June 1838, a large sandhill standing in the vicinity of what is now Fremont Street, between Howard and Folsom, and between which and the bay at high tide there was a space of about

twenty feet, permitting a free passage along the shore to Rincon Point (the coves of which were then much resorted to for picnics and mussel parties) was moved bodily close to the water, so as to obstruct the passage along the shore [1889:16].

Plates 2.3 and 2.3 show men standing on the precipitous sand hill on Block 4 in 1853; by then, filling along Fremont Street allowed for passage along the shore. It is likely that Blocks 3 and 4 would have been crossed by mussel hunting picnics and excursions out to Rincon Point.

Neither the deer hunts nor parties at Rincon Point, nor the occasional passage of a *vaquero*, would likely have resulted in significant deposits of cultural material on the hills and valleys and coves of the project area. The documentary sources do, however, establish that people of the Spanish and Rancho periods did cross the area, and that it was a part of the cognitive landscape, both of local residents, and of visitors from other lands.

The path between the Presidio and the Mission did not come within 2 miles of the project area. The route between the settlement at Yerba Buena and the Mission passed by this neighborhood, but south and west of the later alignment of Market Street. Hittell noted:

In 1838, a wagon road had been opened from Yerba Buena village to the Mission by cutting out the bushes and scrub oaks for the width of eight feet along the line; but as the only vehicles to use it were the Mexican *carretas*, with solid wheels, the main benefit of the road was that horsemen could pass without danger of being scratched or having their clothes torn by the chaparral [1878:87].

It would appear that the line of this road is the same as the trail that Captain Beechey's men improved in 1827, when *H.M.S. Blossom* twice lay at anchor in Yerba Buena Cove. Beechey's elegant chart of the bay, the first map of the area that possesses the better qualities of a modern survey, shows trails leading from the cove to the Mission and to the Presidio, and between the Mission and the Presidio (Harlow 1950:64). The establishment of distinct pathways indicates the growing use of Yerba Buena Cove as a protected anchorage for trading vessels. With fresh water and wood scarce on the San Francisco peninsula, vessels that moored at Yerba Buena Cove replenished their supplies of these vital commodities as close to the shore as they could. As a result, it is likely that parties of sailors collected wood and water from the project area.

The Early American Period, 1846-1848

The first survey of the village of Yerba Buena was carried out by Swiss-born Jean-Jacques Vioget, who built a small cluster of one-story buildings in 1840 and 1841, and applied for a license to operate a *casa de billar* and a saloon. Vioget's was the only public gathering place,

and he hung his map over the bar; this was the first map of the new settlement and it located each town lot as it was granted. In 1886, Bancroft described the map "as covering the tract now included by California and Pacific and Montgomery and Stockton. No names were given to the streets, none of the blocks had exactly the same position of later times. The population of this little village in 1840 was probably about 50 souls, including 16 foreigners" (1886, 3:771). The foreigners were mostly British and Yankee sailors who had jumped ship to settle in the village.

The village of Yerba Buena lay entirely north of the present line of Market Street. Yerba Buena Cove scooped out a crescent-shaped shoreline extending approximately from Pacific Street, north of Market, to Rincon Point, near Spear and Harrison, in the south. Market Street (which did not exist as a named street on Vioget's survey) was blocked by 80 to 100-foot sandhills. From the village of Yerba Buena, people would have come to the project area to gather firewood, which was a scare commodity for both residents and maritime visitors; they would have also made excursions, as Davis mentioned.

Early drawings (1840s) show ships at anchor in Yerba Buena Cove; these were, however, shown moored near the line of Montgomery Street rather than to the south, due to the deeper draft of water to the north. The 1852/53 Coast Survey Chart shows 1 and 2-foot soundings south of Market, and 6 to 8 feet, north of the Market Street Wharf. Also, the cove reached much further inland south of Market, so that access to much faster moving, deeper water (measuring 3.5 fathoms) was the equivalent distance of five city blocks away from land, instead of two to three blocks north of Market.

At a time when virtually all commerce with the outside world was by water, the best safe access to land from the bay became the prime reason that the village of Yerba Buena developed where it did--cut off on the north by Telegraph Hill, on the south by sandhills, and affording the first sheltered cove for incoming vessels.

When the landing party from the sloop-of-war *Portsmouth* hoisted the Stars and Stripes in Yerba Buena's dusty Plaza on July 8, 1846, the village inhabitants "numbered upwards of two hundred, and the buildings of all kinds had increased to nearly fifty" (Soule et al. 1855:173). A little under two years later, in March 1848, a census undertaken by the newly formed school board indicated a population of about 850 with 200 buildings of all types. Two wharves were noted as under construction (Soule et al. 1855:200), and we have a detailed map of the town, showing about 90 identified structures, executed by the captain of the first sea-going vessel at one of these wharves. The vessel was the brig *Belfast*, the wharf a stubby pier at the foot of Broadway. When Captain Harrison drew his map in September of 1848, he wrote on the southern shoreline of Yerba Buena Cove, "horse racing along the beach"--across the perimeter of Block 3 (Harrison 1848).

During this period, it would appear that the shore and shallow waters of Yerba Buena Cove off the project area would have continued to be inviting as picnic areas near large beds of accessible mussels and good sandy shallows for digging clams. Horseback outings for large picnic excursions to Rincon Point were popular; and, as Harrison documents, horse racing on the beach would have been a popular diversion.

A precedent set by Spanish and Mexican law would directly affect the future development of the project area: beaches and water lots were reserved to the state for common use. General Kearny, the military governor in March of 1847, granted to the town of San Francisco the title held by the United States to the beach and water lots in Yerba Buena Cove, "provided the said ground here ceded shall be divided into lots and sold by public auction to the highest bidder, after three months notice previously given . . . " (Soule et al. 1855:181). The sale disposed of 200 of the 450 lots in three days, most of them for closer to \$50 than the \$600 that one beach lot brought. Hittell remarks that "the water lots could not be occupied, and this sale gave little satisfaction to the purchasers or immediate benefit to the town" (1878:114). However, a look at the O'Farrell survey map (Scott 1959:25) showing lots and original waterline, reveals that 200 lots comprised no more than all the beach property (perhaps 30 lots in whole or part) together with all the property it took very small imagination to visualize filling. Six hundred dollars was a great deal to pay for a 50-foot lot in a primitive town in 1847. That 200 lots sold when the population included only 247 white men, exclusive of military personnel, suggests considerable confidence in the future growth of the village on the part of the vast majority of its citizens, or perhaps the purchase of lots by people fronting for speculators with cash.

A compilation of the number of lots granted or sold in San Francisco by the spring of 1848 (as derived from the comments in the *Annals of San Francisco*, Hittell, and Bancroft regarding specific sales or classes of transaction) reached 915--probably an underestimate, given the nature of the sources. If we assume that the average lot-holder thought his property worth about \$100, while a goodly number of lots were obviously worth much more than that, then San Francisco real estate holdings might have been thought to be worth over \$1 million. Figures of such magnitude would have appeared trifling a year later, when the effect of the Gold Rush on San Francisco real estate was to increase values so rapidly as to create an unshakable vested interest in the spectacularly rapid development of the city. The hasty disposal of as much of the city's corporate property as the market could absorb--even at nominal prices--may from one perspective have been the most important single event that took place in the town during the two years between the American seizure and the exodus to the gold fields.

The area south of Market Street, which at this time was marked by several of the highest peaks amongst the sandhills south of town, the large blocks and 100-vara lots appeared an



Map 2.3: Zakreski's "Only Correct & Fully Complete Map of San Francisco," 1853 . . . This map projects the growth of the city to be accomplished by filling in the waterlots. By extending the street grid into the bay and creating numbered parcels to be sold to the highest bidder--the city put the responsibility for filling the bay into private hands.

Courtesy of the Bancroft Library

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appropriate response to laying out a site destined for future city expansion. (A *vara* is the Spanish near equivalent of a yard, measuring 2.76 feet. A 50-vara lot in San Francisco was 137.5 feet on each side; six such lots made up one block 100 by 150 varas, or 275 by 412.5 feet. A glance at the 1852/53 Coast Survey (Map 2.1) shows the difference between the 50-vara lots north of Market and the 100-vara lots to the south. In the project area, Blocks 5 through 7, and 9 and 10 measure 555.55 feet by 833.33 feet. Blocks 1 through 4 and 8 measure 555.5 long and 280 feet wide.) The beach line, and its extension into the shallows, was cut up into small lots, as were the water and beach lots to the north.

The shift in the orientation of the streets south of Market, together with the different size of the blocks, resulted in Market Street intersections that are not crossings, but O'Farrell's survey makes sense if it is understood that the beach and waterlots comprised the city's most valuable property.

First Street conformed to the shoreline of the cove in the same manner of Montgomery Street, with rows of beach and waterlots east of it. At the same time, the major east-west streets south of Market recognized the reality of Mission Bay and conformed to reasonable expectations of filling and development in this quarter. For a clear picture of just how these pre-Gold Rush waterlots were laid out see Map 2.3, "The Plan for San Francisco in 1853", Zakreski's map entitled, "The only correct and fully complete Map of San Francisco, Compiled from the Original Map [O'Farrell's 1847 Survey]."

2.3.2 The Gold Rush, 1849-1859

Although gold was discovered in the spring of 1848, and by that summer most able-bodied San Franciscans had dropped everything to set off for Sacramento and the mines, eastern migration was delayed until President Polk gave the California Gold Rush the government's official sanction on December 10, 1848. Until then, rumors reaching the East Coast of strikes of California gold were considered by the prudent to be just that.

The arrival in the East of Colonel Mason carrying his tea caddy filled with gold--assayed by the Philadelphia mint to be of the highest quality--inaugurated the greatest mass movement of people since the crusades. They came by boat around the treacherous seas of the Horn, or made the dangerous journey across the malaria-ridden swamps of Panama; they came by foot, overland from Independence, Missouri, as soon the spring grass was high enough to feed the oxen pulling their wagons.

The influx into San Francisco began in 1849 and continued unabated to 1853, when departures from the mines equaled arrivals. Historically, "The Golden Era in Decline from 1854-1859" was what modern economists would term a "correction" to the over-heated speculative economy.

To put this in perspective: "The city had 459 inhabitants in the latter part of June 1847; by the close of 1849 there were somewhere between 25,000 and 30,000 people, and there was no such thing as a home to be found. Both dwellings and places of business were either common canvas tents, or small rough board shanties . . . only gambling saloons, hotels and restaurants and a few public buildings and stores had any pretensions to size, comfort, or elegance" (Soule et al. 1855:215-216). It was as if this mostly young male population had arrived with nothing more than what they could wear or carry, and they could generally count on earning "the miner's ounce" a day--or about \$16 a day, this at a time when farmers on the East Coast were paying laborers \$16 a month. "Men had come to California for gold; and, by hook or crook, gold they would have" (Soule et al. 1855:250).

The highly publicized amounts of treasure shipped every two weeks out of San Francisco on Pacific Mail steamers, bound for the mints in Philadelphia and New Orleans, remained astonishing.

In 1851, the gold manifested at the San Francisco customs house for shipment amounted to thirty-four million dollars, and the number of immigrants by sea was twenty-seven thousand. It was now considered certain that the gold mines would not be exhausted in a life-time; that they would contribute immensely to the wealth of the nation and that California would continue for years to attract immigrants [Hittell 1878:204].

The Gold Rush Era in the Project Area, 1849-1851

From 1849 to 1851, the early years of the Gold Rush, project Blocks 4 and 5 were a temporary home to masses of humanity, encamped in tents in Happy Valley. The right to pitch a tent close to the shore with no rents charged by the lot owners was so unusual in San Francisco at the time, that a number of accounts described the scene. Estimates range from 1000 to 5000 men, mostly living in tents and improvised shanties, many of which used scavenged parts of the nearby ships, abandoned by their gold seeking crews in Yerba Buena Cove (see Plate 2.1).

Happy Valley remained a shifting mass of men: new arrivals came from every nation in the world; seasoned miners returned from the diggings when changes in the weather or their fortunes brought them back for a respite near the city. Improvised shallow wells furnished their drinking



Plate 2.1: The Shore of Happy Valley in 1850 . . . Augusto Ferran painted this scene of the shoreline of the Yerba Buena Cove south of Market. Standing on a rise at Rincon Point, he made this earliest surviving view of the project area, showing the intense activity of the early Gold Rush scene. His perspective is wider than that of daguerreotype views made a few years later, putting the sandy bluff that marked Howard and Fremont streets in the middle distance. The view of shipbuilding on the beach is of special significance, documenting this use of the shoreline of Yerba Buena Cove from Beale Street, west to Fremont and First streets.

The two large vessels are steamboats that arrived knocked down, to be put back together again and used on the prosperous river trade to Sacramento and the mines. "Domingo Marcucci--who had come out with the vessel and accompanying shipwrights, engineers, and captain, put the *Captain Sutter* together in six weeks at the foot of Folsom Street. Between 1850 and 1853, Marcucci, and others, constructed vessels on the beach of Happy Valley" (Scanland 1895:13-16, 127-129).

Diarists describing the scene above estimated that anywhere from 1000 to 5000 men lived in encampments in Happy Valley (generally described as south of Market to Rincon Point; it would have included Blocks 3, 4, and 5). The first and only "free rent" place to pitch a tent near the shoreline was on this crowded stretch of sand that Ferran painted. A crowd of men coming and going, living mostly in tents or hastily thrown together shanties, dwelled along this southern stretch of beach and among the sand hills behind it from 1849 through 1851. Happy Valley remained the only free tenting place next to the bay that had a road to the city (First Street).

The continual press of over-crowded humanity, using the most haphazard sanitation, polluted the shallow wells, spread disease, and led to a number of deaths by 1851. One account mentions the many shallow graves that were hastily dug between tents. Dr. Hans Behr, a medical graduate of the University of Berlin and long-time San Francisco resident, wrote in 1851 that a sign on Rincon Point read "Cholera can be expected here" (Shumate 1988:20).



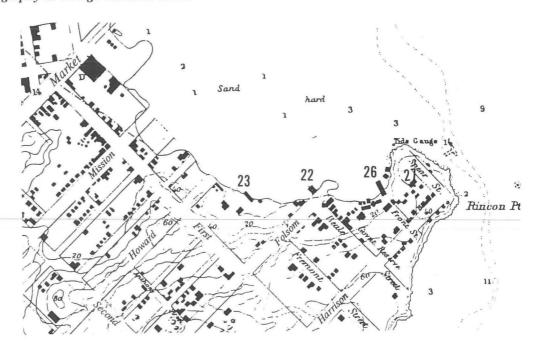
Plate 2.2: Yerba Buena Cove, South of Market, Winter of 1851 . . . This is thought to be the earliest daguerreotype view of the project area, taken from Nob Hill, and looking out over Yerba Buena Cove towards Rincon Point. The cluster of abandoned ships in this part of the harbor represents only a few of the estimated 776 ships that lost their crews to the lure of the gold mines.

The view encompasses three geographic groupings: Happy Valley, stretching from First and Mission to Third and Jessie; Pleasant Valley, bounded by First and Second, Howard and Folsom; and Rincon Point, reaching out like a clenched fist with Front (later Main) Street at its wrist, and Spear Street at its knuckles, with Harrison Street running out to meet Spear.

The small white building, extending partly over water, is marked on Map 2.1 (the 1852/53 Coast Survey) as building #22, and defines the southwest corner of Block 2 at Beale and Folsom. To its right is building #23, a warehouse along Fremont Street on Block 3. To the left of building #22 is a long building associated with boat-building operations, marked as building #26. Above this structure on the summit of Rincon Point is building #27, the predecessor of the U.S. Marine Hospital.

International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House

Detail from Coast Survey Chart, 1852/1853 . . . Project Blocks 1 completely and 2 are shown submerged; Block 3 is filled at its Each southwestern corner. structure has been drawn according to both shape and size; locations are precise. Building #22 in the view above is built over the water, on the southwest corner of Block 2 at Folsom and Beale. The level of informal development on Rincon Point is considerable along the shoreline near Beale and Front (later Main) streets. Subsequent close-up views show these structures clearly, as well as the conditions of the mud and sand shoreline.



water. Within a year, the crowded and unsanitary conditions had polluted the water, and illness, including the miners' dreaded dysentery, forced those who could to move elsewhere.

Generally described as stretching from First and Mission out to around Third and Jessie streets, Happy Valley was considered to have included all the shoreline south from Market to Rincon Point. Both the name and the settlement dated from the fall of 1849, when the first real wharf for seagoing ships, Central or Long Wharf, was being built out to deep water along the line of Commercial Street. At that time, maps showing Happy Valley included Blocks 4 and 5 in the project area.

George Kent, who arrived in San Francisco on September 16, 1849, described the scene in Happy Valley:

A part of the city well worthy of notice is Happy Valley, so called--a large collection of tents pitched in a valley near the beach which may contain some 2,000 inhabitants, mostly newcomers waiting for the chance to go to the mines and miners who have left the digging for a season. These locate in Happy Valley wherever they see fit, and any attempt to collect rent of them (and there have been several such attempts) is rejected as absurd. This appears to be regular "free soil" movement carried out into pretty effectual operations, for a half a mile above there, any piece of land large enough to pitch a decent sized tent on will rent for a very high price. In the Valley a variety of trades are carried on, and there are quite a number of shops for sale of small articles, liquor, etc. [Kent 1941:29].

Samuel Upham later published his journals, recounting his repeated stays in Happy Valley. This excerpt is taken from his journal written on August 6, 1849:

In the afternoon, I visited the encampment of the gold diggers in Happy Valley, for the purpose of selecting a site on which to pitch my tent. My provisions and mining implements were soon landed from the *Osceola*, and I made the necessary arrangement for spending a few weeks in San Francisco . . . a queer place. Yerba Buena contains at this time a dozen adobe structures and perhaps two hundred roughly-constructed frame buildings, mostly shipped around Cape Horn. The beach, Happy Valley, for the space of two miles, is covered with canvas and rubber tents, and the adjacent sand-hills are dotted to their summits with these frail but convenient tenements of the prospective miner. The population number perhaps five thousand, and is as heterogeneous as their habitations. It seems as though every nation on the face of the earth had sent a representative [1873:248-250].

Upham went off to the mines and returned to Happy Valley in November of 1849. His journal continues:

I visited the gold-digger's encampment at Happy Valley, but that too was changed so that I could hardly recognize a familiar spot. A three-story warehouse was being erected on the spot where I had pitched my tent two months previously. The saw and hammer of the carpenter could be heard in every square. . . . I purchased a ship's galley for \$100, size 4 by 5 feet and located in Happy Valley and commenced housekeeping. My furniture consisted of an empty flour-barrel and nail-keg. The former served for a table and the latter as a chair, minus a back. My cooking utensils were as inexpensive as my furniture. A second-hand frying pan, a dilapidated coffee-pot, and rheumatic jack-knife comprised the catalogue. My bed consisted of two blankets and soft block of wood for a pillow. . . . With no disrespect to Happy Valley, there is one thing which as a truthful historian I am compelled more in sorrow than in anger to relate. The flea, that festive and lively 'little animal' was quite prevalent. The sojourners in Happy Valley and the surrounding sandhills never required cupping or leeching, as both operations were performed by the fleas.

My first business venture: pickles are scarce and sell at fabulous prices. The beach of Happy Valley for miles is lined with discarded pickle-jars and bottles, and I have gathered up, cleansed and stored around my shebang, several hundred bottles ready for use. This afternoon, I boarded a vessel just arrived from Boston and persuaded the captain to sell me a barrel of salted cucumbers and half a barrel of cider-vinegar to be delivered tomorrow morning. . . . Before the next night I had the largest stock of bottled pickles in San Francisco, and at the close of the week I struck a balance sheet and found that I had cleared \$300 by speculation. My next mercantile ventures was a 'corner' on tobacco pipes, by which I realized \$150 in twenty four hours. . . [1873:257-259].

The three-story building that Upham referred to is more likely a two-story frame building (the third story consisting of an open-beam interior second story) on Block 3, or a second building further south on the southwest toe of Block 2. Both of these commercial buildings at the edge of the water can be seen in Plates 2.2 and 2.3 and on Map 2.1 (Structures #23 on Block 3 and #22 on Block 2). Upham's reference to pickle bottles lining the shore gives us an idea of the type of diet that San Francisco residents improvised during the Gold Rush. Fresh vegetables were especially scarce, and pickles were the best substitute until a network of market gardens (shown on the 1852/53 Coast Survey) was developed.

Upham left for the mines once again; returning to Happy Valley in 1850, he wrote that:

Happy Valley, which four months previously, contained scarcely half a dozen frame buildings, now boasted as many hundreds. Verily, this El Dorado is a wonderful country; and San Francisco, despite the clouds of dust and chilly afternoons is destined to become the second city on this continent [1873:357].

Doctor J. B. D. Stillman first described Happy Valley in 1849, and again in 1851, but from a professional perspective: "The sandy shore of the bay is front of us, and around us are sandhills covered with a low growth of evergreen oaks. . . . There are about one thousand men encamped along the beach." He did not report any illness then, but returning in 1851, he noted that dysentery was killing the gold seekers, "caused by their reliance on hundreds of brackish little seep hole wells, only two or three feet deep." (Stillman 1877:119-120). In 1850 James Delavan observed the progress of disease in Happy Valley:

This Happy Valley became a scene of the most abject misery and distress. Disease was constantly sharing the members crowded within it. . . . The water of San Francisco is not good and very difficult to be obtained. Many have described the virulence of the disease which has ravaged Happy Valley to the deleterious effects of the water and it is quite probable that such is the fact [1850:101].

Far away in Hobart, Tasmania, the local press reprinted a be-sure-to-read account of life in Gold Rush San Francisco in 1850:

The fever and ague, diarrhoea and dysentery have made dreadful havoc . . . and the awful pictures of the tent town or encamping ground at Happy Valley are horrifying in the extreme. To multitudes it has proven the valley of the shadow of death; and some of our informants who went there . . . could with difficulty find enough unoccupied ground to pitch a tent, the cleared surface presenting the appearance of numerous graves and forcibly impressing on their downcast spirits that they had been thrown by their own voluntary exile into Golgotha . . . many hundreds of others were walking about the streets of Happy Valley [Hobart Daily Courier, March 20, 1850].

Cholera, dysentery, and "the fever" were feared and experienced. Letters written to the East described the mournful loneliness of "death in this far country, far from home and loved ones." Whether accounts of the hasty burials between tents were exaggerated reactions to all of these fears, or accurate descriptions, we cannot know. However, Dr. T. R. Palmer, the first City Physician of San Francisco, recalled Happy Valley as "the most unhappy location on God's earth." Dr. Hans Herman Behr, a medical graduate of the University of Berlin, noted the sign on Rincon Point in 1851, as Gold Rush humor, "Cholera can be expected here" (Shumate 1988:20).

The Golden Era South of Market, 1852-1859

The earliest daguerreotype view so far discovered of the project area is a rare three-part panorama found at Eastman House: it is the earliest record of San Francisco by a camera. Plate

2.2 shows that part of the panorama of Yerba Buena Cove that includes the SF-480 project area. Research by the San Francisco Maritime Museum curators has proven this view to be taken no earlier than January 28, 1851, and no later than May 4 of that same year. This was the year when a great fire burned much of San Francisco's north waterfront, destroying several landmark storeships (Harmon et al. 1963:n.p.).

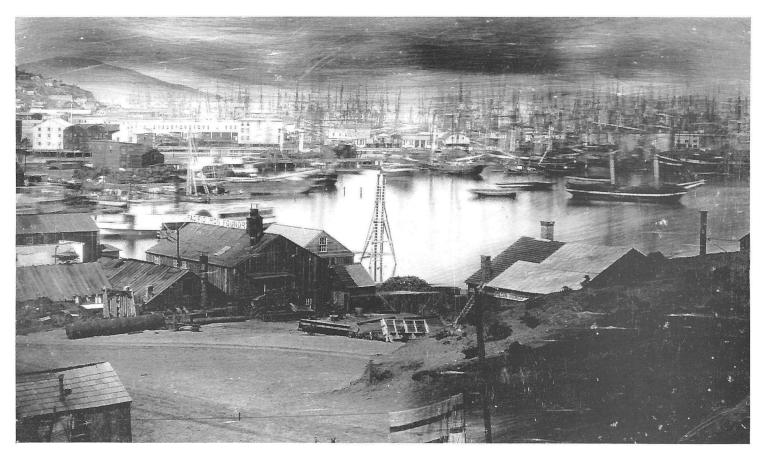
The daguerreotype artist stood on Nob Hill and focussed his camera on Rincon Point in the center distance. He recorded some of the 776 ships that the *Alta California* noted as abandoned in the harbor--deserted by their crews who had joined the exodus to the mines. A number of large vessels rest on the muddy bottom of the cove. It is tantalizing that we cannot distinguish their names, for among the vessels which the *Alta* listed as "Near Rincon Point" was the *Cadmus*, the venerable French ship that had brought Lafayette to America to fight in the American Revolution.

The part of Yerba Buena Cove seen in this view was the least used by active shipping, which came and went north of Market, particularly along the line of Commercial Street, or Long Wharf. Instead, this part of the cove became a haven where vessels could rest, undisturbed. For this reason, a number of ships were used as storeships, as can be seen in Plate 2.3a, and again in Plate 2.5. (For a full discussion of these Gold Rush maritime artifacts, see Section 5.4.6.)

With lumber next to impossible to obtain and construction labor scarce, the ships became warehouses. It was possible to buy a ship for prices ranging from \$500 to \$1500, roof it over, and rent it out as a storeship. It could be used to hold cargo from incoming ships until demand exceeded supply and prices rose accordingly. Again, the over-heated economy lent itself to gambling and speculation.

Almost every Gold Rush letter sent back East mentioned exorbitant prices. The idea of paying a dollar for a gull's egg, or \$250 a month to rent a 4- by 5-foot dirt cellar to use as a law office, or of sending shirts to China to be washed and returned, not to mention paying interest of 8 to 15 percent a month--in advance--on a loan: all of these accounts fed the extravagant legend of California. Price inflation, reflecting the use of newly mined gold as the medium of exchange and miners eager for goods of all types, was found throughout California, but especially characterized San Francisco from 1851 through 1853.

For a clear understanding of the kinds of human activities that took place within the project area, we have tied the daguerreotypes and drawings of the 1850s with the two Coast Survey Charts. The 1852/53 Coast Survey (Map 2.2) shows the SF-480 project area at the height of the Gold Rush. San Francisco was rapidly developing as a city, north of Market. Within the SF-480 project area, there were scatters of structures. As can be seen, project Blocks 1 and 2 were submerged—and we know from the views that storeships rested there. Block 3 was mostly submerged, with filling already beginning on the mud flats where structure #23 is seen in Plate



Plates 2.3a & 2.3b: Two Sections of a Panoramic View from First & Howard, Across Yerba Buena Cove, 1852/53... Standing on the 60-foot sand ridge at the foot of Howard and First streets, the daguerreotypist moved his camera to gain overlapping views of the cove, crowded with the ships that had brought the gold seekers to California and were then abandoned by their crews. The upper view looks across the cove, towards Block 1, with the mass of ships just south of Market and Mission streets. The Pacific and Vulcan foundries seen here were on First Street. In the lower view, the sharp dip in the sand hill marks the line of Howard Street. The men are standing near the site of the future San Francisco Gas Company Works.

Daguerreotype Panorama, California Historical Society



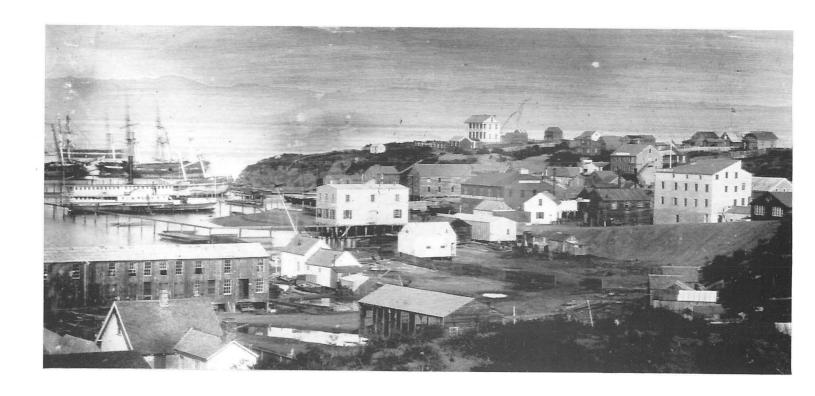


Plate 2.3c: Looking Out at Rincon Point in the Winter of 1852/53... This section of the seven-part daguerreotype panorama includes a close view of structures on project blocks 2, 3, and 4. The camera was placed on the 60-foot sand ridge at First and Howard; this plate took in the view across the sandy rise that marked First Street, the muddy flat beyond the sandhill crossed by the alignment of Fremont Street, and the rise of Folsom Street where it cut in front of the four-story white building, the Sutter Hotel (building #25).

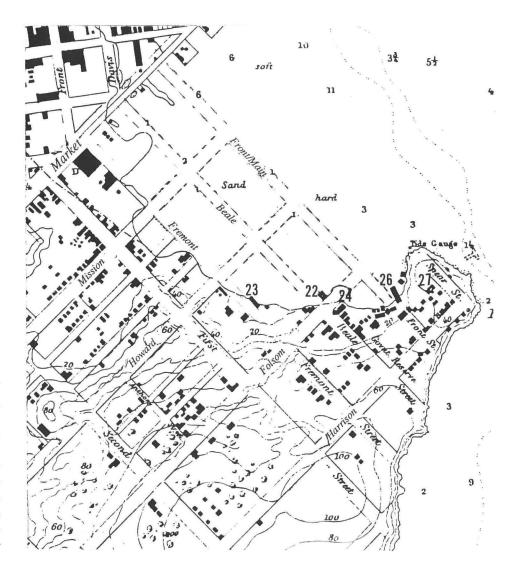
There is disagreement among authorities as to the precise year of this panorama. It is dated as "1851" by some, and "1853" by others. The amount of construction in the area would make 1851 too early. Almost every building in the view can be matched to the 1852 Coast Survey published in 1853. However, the prominent Sutter Hotel is not shown on the Coast Survey chart, a fact that pushes the date forward towards 1853.

In the distance, on the rise out on Rincon Point, is a prominent, two-story, peaked-roof white house, with a white fence (#27). This structure marks the yard of the future U.S. Marine Hospital, constructed in December of 1853 on Harrison, between Spear and Main.

California Historical Society

Detail from U.S. Coast Survey Chart, 1852/53 . . . Structures identified in the opposite view, and shown schematically below, include the long rectangular, twostory, wooden building (#23) on Block 3. It faces Fremont Street, and is built at the water's edge, for convenient access to the bay. An industrial building, it may have been used as a warehouse, for wood-working, boat-building, or manufacturing. By 1857 building #23 is gone. The Aetna Iron Works occupied the site in the 1880s (see Plate 3.8). The white, two-story building (#22) on Block 2 is built on piles over the water on the corner of Beale and Folsom. In slightly later views, a large ship (Ship D) is moored directly west of this structure, between building #22 and the small white one-story structure. Building #24, just across from Block 2 on Folsom Street, was first the Rincon Blacksmith, and by 1853 was renamed the Sutter Iron Works.

Building #26 (barely visible) is the rectangular structure projecting out into the bay near Front (Main) Street. The distinctive two-story house with the white fence (#27) appears to be on the site of the Marine Hospital, built in 1854 at Spear and Harrison.



Schematic Sketch Below Identifies Streets & Structures on Plate 2.3C on Facing Page

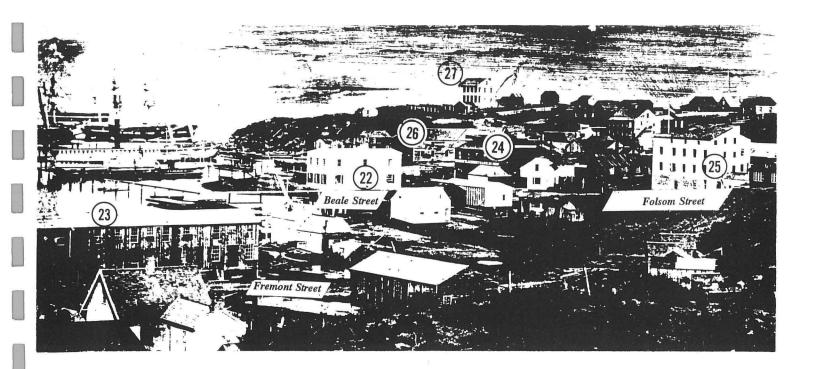




Plate 2.3d: Housekeeping on a Sand Hill, South of Howard at First Street . . . This section of the panorama is remarkable, for in spite of the necessarily long exposure, the camera caught some of the early inhabitants of what was probably a prefabricated cottage from the East Coast. Block 4 is in the foreground, with the small cottage on the sandhill, its washing blurring in the breeze, and draped over shrubs to catch the winter sun. Ship B is visible on Block 2, roofed over for use as storage. This vessel, seen in a number of views, faces Beale Street. Ship A lies at the same angle but a block farther out, putting the vessel off the project site, with its bow facing Main Street.

According to maritime historian Raymond Aker, "Ship B, shown in this view, shows a very bluff bowed vessel, the sort that would be found in a full-bodied, flat floored hull that would be most suitable for a store ship. The hawse holes can be seen high up in the bow. It is a small vessel, either a ship or a brig. In Plate 2.3d, Ship A can be seen clearly with its two masts. Ship A is a brig. Ship A is moored fore and aft, with anchor chains at the bows and either chain or mooring lines at her stern. She may have come afloat when the tide came in. Ship A definitely abuts the line of Main Street" (Aker letter of June 6, 1992).

The enlarged view shows pilings defining right angles that mark the intersection of Main and Folsom in the bay. Speculators buying "water lots" had some difficulty in locating their property with precision, but there was no doubt in anyone's mind that this cove would become valuable filled land on San Francisco's waterfront--it was only a matter of time. Pile drivers can be found already at work in this view, in the far right foreground.

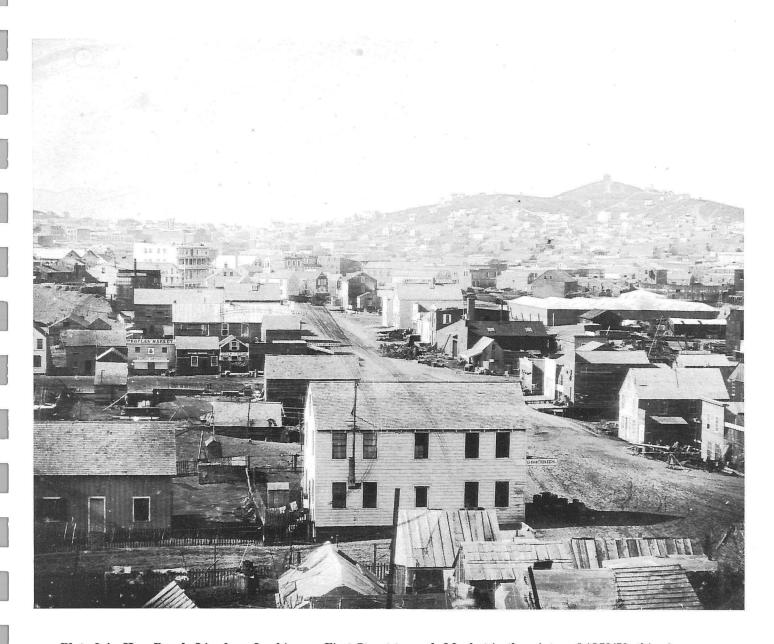


Plate 2.4: How People Lived . . . Looking up First Street towards Market in the winter of 1852/53, this view shows the range of structures that characterized the Gold Rush city. In the foreground are shanties built on the edge of the large sand hill that ran along Howard Street between First and Second. Constructed of scavenged materials, squatter cottages of this type are especially practical in San Francisco's mild climate, and a great improvement over tents; such houses reflected the individuality of their dwellers, and continued to be built on unoccupied land in San Francisco through the 1930s, as can be seen on Plate 3.31.

The two houses across the street, while utilitarian in design, conform more closely to the Victorian idea of what constituted a proper house; the one on the left was part of a row of identical prefabricated houses that had been shipped in from the East Coast. Many such houses were erected south of Market by speculators who ordered several at a time and rented them out for profit. A rent receipt from just such a small cottage located in Happy Valley shows that Mrs. Jessie Fremont paid \$50 a month rent in 1852. As the local cost of building declined, these were in turn replaced by two-story row houses on 15 to 25-foot lots, which became the most common type of housing throughout San Francisco by 1860. By the mid-1860s, the east-west streets south of Market presented an almost unbroken facade of small row houses, most of which were inhabited by at least two families.

But although the streetscape was remodeled according to Victorian standards of order, what was not visible from the street was not subject to such constraints. Views taken from the summit of the Selby Shot Tower show a great proliferation of rear additions and backyard cottages.

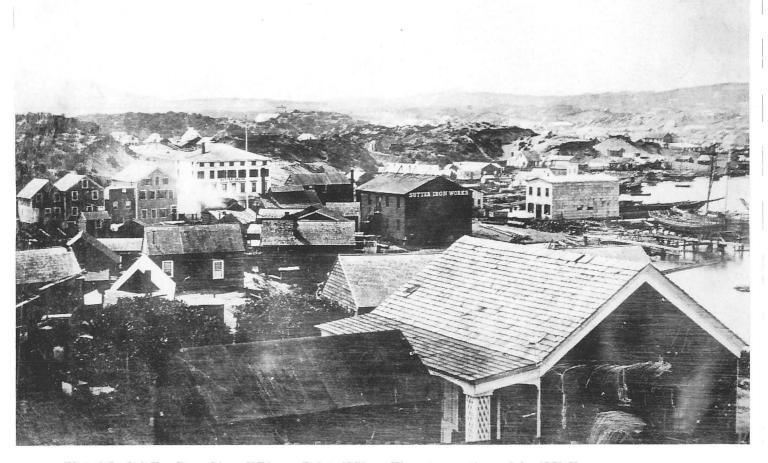
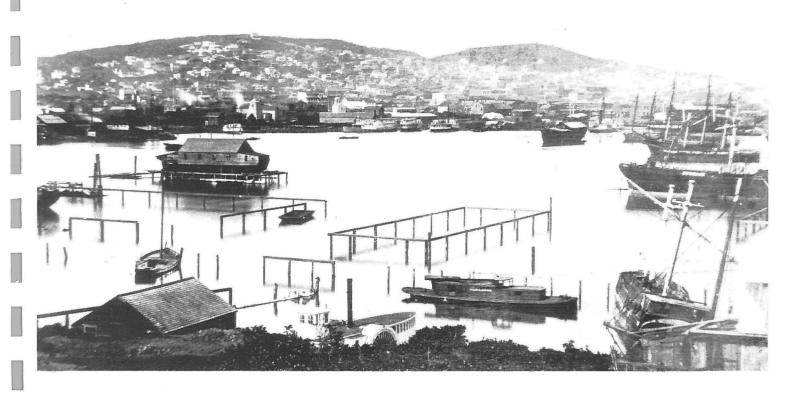


Plate 2.5a & 2.5b: Storeships off Rincon Point, 1853... These two sections of the 1853 Shew panorama were taken from a 60-foot elevation on Rincon Point, from the fenced yard of building #27, near Spear and Harrison. Plate 2.5a (on the left) looks at building #22, on the southwest corner of Block 2, at Folsom and Beale. This two-story structure, built out over the water, has a large vessel, Ship D, moored on the far side. Several smaller vessels are drawn up on the side closer to the viewer. The Sutter Iron Works (building #24) is across Folsom Street; the Sutter Hotel has been erected--too late to be included in the Coast Survey Map published in 1853.

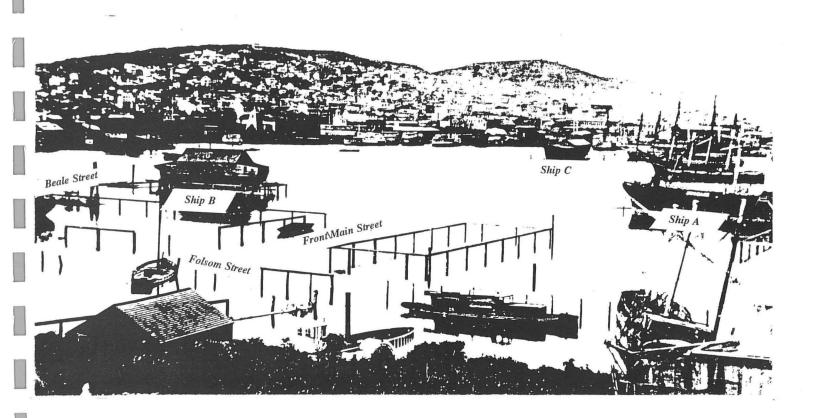
Sandhills hide Pleasant Valley in the background, but the shoreline below them appears to be crowded with numerous buildings and a number of smaller vessels are pulled up to the beach.

Plate 2.5b, on the facing page, shows the intersection of Folsom and Main, outlined by pilings. The roofed-over Ship B is clearly seen located along the line of Beale Street. Calculations place the sites of Ship D in the line of Beale Street and Ship B on Block 2.

According to maritime historian Raymond Aker, "The sign 'Storage' has been painted on the starboard bulwarks of Ship A and name boards [illegible] show on each side of her visible head rails. An awning covers the stern section abaft the main mast. The brig's cooking caboose stands before the main mast." Ship A lies almost on a direct line with Ship B and has her bow pointed towards Main Street (effectively placing her site beyond the SF-480 project limits). Ship C lies between Main and Beale, with her stern at Mission Street. Her site would be on Block 1. According to Aker, "Ship C does not appear to be moored. Like Ship B, she is enclosed in a piling marked water lot, so is probably bedded in the mud and sand, brought in at high tide with a light draft and allowed to settle on the bottom when the tide fell. The full-bodied appearance of the hull, as seen in (Plate 2.5b), suggests that this is a bluff-ended and flat-floored vessel eminently suited as a store ship grounded in place. Her shape is further confirmed by the woodcut in Plate 2.7" (Raymond Aker, letter, June 8, 1992).



Numbered Plate 2.5b shows the position of storeships A, B, and C, as well as the intersection of Folsom Street and Main, staked out by pilings in the water.



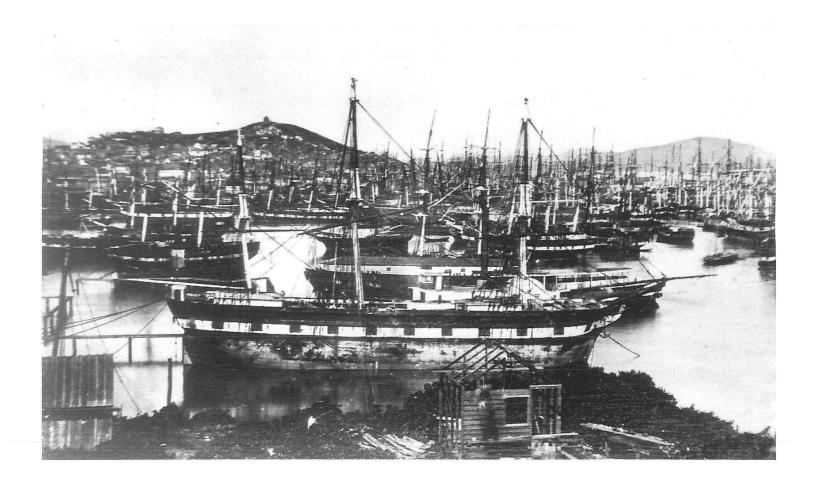


Plate 2.5c: Looking Across Yerba Buena Cove in 1853 from Rincon Point... Some idea of the condition of stranded shipping south of the Market Street Wharf can be gained from this view. A nearly contemporary description of the scene follows:

A peculiar feature in the harbor of San Francisco at this time [September 7, 1852], and one that struck me very forcibly on our first approach, was the great number of dismantled ships that lay thickly scattered around it. These ships had a very old, ruinous, antiquated appearance, and at first sight gave me an impression that this new-born city had been inhabited for ages, and was now going to ruin. Most of them have their lower masts standing, supported by a few ropes and chains. A large portion of them had been deserted by their crews on the first outbreak of the gold excitement, and were recklessly left to their destruction, while men and officers rushed blindly and wildly to the mines.

These ships have, however, been made subservient to a valuable purpose, having been converted into store-ships by the merchants. Some of them had doors cut in their sides, with short flights of steps from the water. Some were run aground near the shore, and wharves and streets were built around them, where, with houses erected on them, they could scarcely be distinguished from the surrounding stores [Lamson 1878:117].

The port side of Ship A is barely visible, moored four vessels out and to the far left, mostly west of this plate. The second vessel out (beyond the packet with its black and white painted rectangles simulating twelve guns) is also a storeship and has been neatly roofed-over with small windows that are just visible.

2.3c. The 60-foot-high sand ridges seen on the map at the foot of Howard Street on Block 4, serve as look-out places over the cove, as seen in Plates 2.3b and 2.3d. Boat-building and repair are the activities closely associated with this waterfront zone.

Project Blocks 5-9 include the slopes and heights of Rincon Hill. These hundred-vara blocks have already been cut through with smaller streets to afford additional easy access and more frontage for houses. A scattering of trees reminds us that these blocks have springs, another significant reason for early settlement. As a result, Rincon Hill was divided into residential lots at the 100-foot contour and higher, affording views over the harbor, while First and Second streets provided relatively easy access to Market Street and the more commercially developed northeastern part of the city.

As the distance from the cove increased, development became sparser. Block 9 has no structures shown; Block 7 has only two very small buildings, and Block 8 has only two structures present. In the west, Block 10 is near sea-level, and more than half the block consists of marshlands associated with Mission Bay. A small serpentine slough reaches past Fourth Street, near Bryant. A scatter of small houses on Block 10 marks the edge of Mission Bay and the beginning of American settlement at this early date.

Just as the 1852/53 chart captures the SF-480 project area at the height of the Gold Rush, the 1857/59 Coast Survey Chart (Maps 2.4 and 2.5) details the developing city at a time when a swift drop in real estate prices (1854) was followed by the young city's first "depression" in 1855. When the latter map was produced, the urban economy was on the verge of rebounding, as news of gold and silver strikes in the Comstock in 1859-60 buoyed confidence in a renewed expansion of mining.

The 1857/59 Coast Survey shows several striking changes from the 1852/53 chart: Block 5 is now thickly settled with small and medium-sized houses along Tehama and Clementina streets. The industrial development of First Street is exemplified by the giant gas holder just north of Howard Street. Photographs reveal that many of the structures north of Folsom, along the east side of First Street, were foundries and machine shops, while others were multi-storied boarding houses. On the other hand, Blocks 6 and 7 had been developed into small garden estates--for it was here that the first genteel neighborhood of San Francisco found its roots.

Prominent San Franciscans built houses on Rincon Hill beginning in the early 1850s. In 1854, on the northeast corner of Second and Harrison, Edward Church, banking partner with Pedar Sather, built his handsome wooden house with formal balustrades on balconies and roof lines, constructing corridors of arched windows to enclose his conservatory. His partner, Sather, built a landmark Tudor Gothic house across the street (at the northwest corner of Second and Harrison). That same year, William Babcock built his comfortable house on Block 6, overlooking

the harbor and city. Babcock named the cross street that bounded his property, Essex, in honor of the English county that was the putative home of his ancestors. At the time, he was Chief Agent for the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, the largest international shipping company on the West Coast. Babcock had his ship's surgeon, Dr. Otis, draw the entire view from his porch overlooking Folsom Street and the harbor and city beyond. This careful view (reproduced here as Plate 2.8) was made in 1855 and published as a lithograph in Boston. Because of its accurate correspondence with other contemporary sources, this meticulous drawing of the SF-480 project area is a prime research tool for locating many of the same Gold Rush structures still extant on the detailed 1887 Sanborn maps of Blocks 5 and 4.

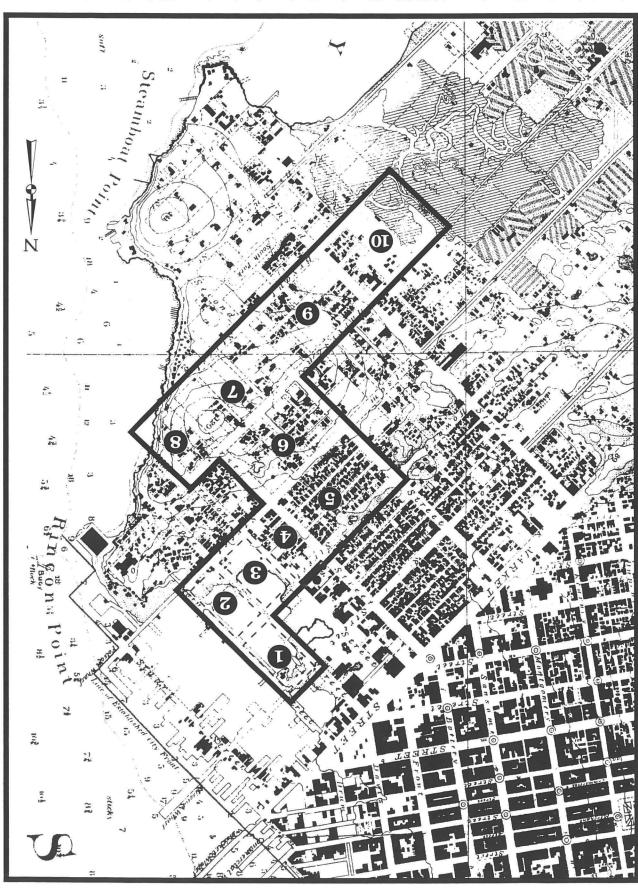
The men who settled their families in comfortable Rincon Hill houses in the 1850s were the capitalists, commission merchants and lawyers, sea-captains and bankers, mining engineers and stock brokers, judges and city supervisors, editors and senators, foundry owners and canny real estate investors. In short, they were the power elite of San Francisco in the 1850s.

Because the first extant census records of San Francisco begin in 1860, while city directories were primarily the only printed means of locating businessmen, there is a shadow population on Rincon Hill of women and children, and live-in servants. Except for a few seamstresses and boarding housekeepers, women do not appear except by inference and when named in newspaper accounts of social occasions, or as the "widow of" their late husbands in later city directories.

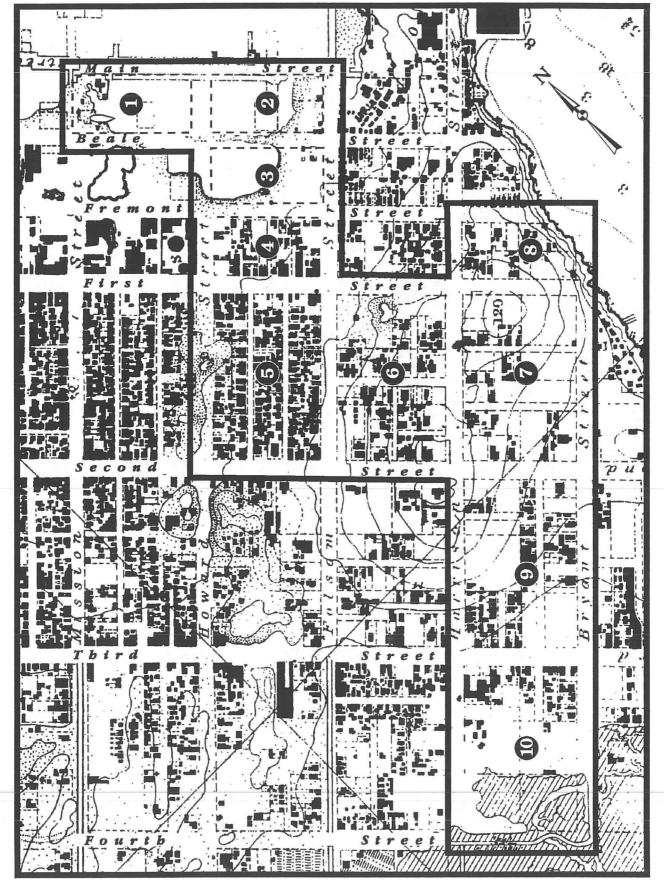
2.3.3 The City Building Era, 1860-1905

For San Franciscans, the years between 1860 and the great earthquake and fire in 1906 could be described as decades of hope and despair-each made more acute by the dramatic extremes of the other. The decade of the 1860s began with high hopes. With characteristic California good luck, silver had been discovered in the Comstock mines in Nevada--capital investment, technical expertise, and control of the mines came from San Francisco.

For eight years from 1853 there had been a steady decline in the yield of the precious metals on the Pacific slope, until in 1861 the exportation had fallen to forty million dollars, a decrease of two million dollars a year on an average; but now it began to rise again. The Comstock lode in 1862 turned out six million dollars and gave promise of doing far better in the future. . .The production of silver having been three times as large as in the previous year, with confidence of a still larger yield in the near future, there was an active demand for the stocks of the silver companies, and their sale now became a prominent feature in the city's business to which it gave a highly speculative tendency.



Map 2.4: San Francisco, 1857/59, Showing Project Study Area (U.S. Coast Survey)



Project Study Area (U.S. Coast Survey) Showing San Francisco, 1857/59, Jo Detail 2.5:

Map



Plates 2.6 & 2.7: Storeships and Fill, 1854... In the view above, the artist is looking north from Harrison and Fremont out over Tar Flat at low tide; the Main Street Wharf bisects the center of the view, with Storeship C shown resting on the mud of Tar Flat to its left. Storeship B is partly obscured by the Sutter Hotel in the center; only its roofed-over stern is visible. Blocks 1, 2, and 3 are unfilled, but cut off by the wharf from access to the bay; mud is already shoaling next to the wharf.

The view below, precisely dated to December of 1854, drawn from the same position but looking more to the west, shows Beale Street newly filled as an uncompleted spit of land partly surrounding Storeship C. Note the careful delineation of the filling taking place, in a stair-step fashion along property and street lines. The height of the prominently shaded right-angled embankment, a valuable corner lot at Mission and Beale, shows the depth of fill needed to bring property up to city grade.

Both Views: Courtesy of the Society of California Pioneers

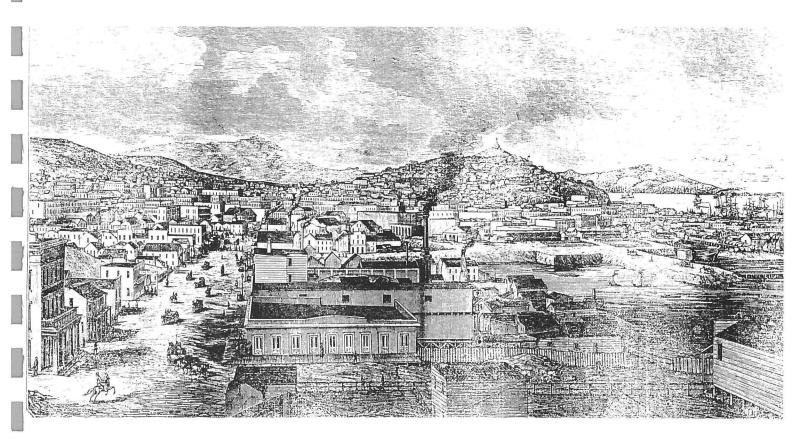


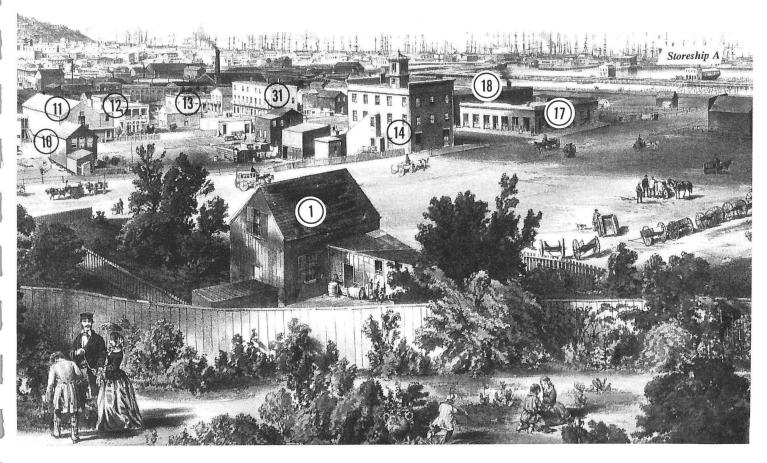


Plate 2.8: Gold Rush Structures Persist Through 1887 . . . This meticulous drawing is the key to a visual understanding of the project area. Drawn from Block 6, the artist encompassed a 180-degree view that took in Blocks 1 through 5 and much of the adjoining area. In the year 1855, William Babcock, then agent and manager of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, invited Dr. F. N. Otis, a gifted artist as well as a surgeon with his steamship line, to make a detailed panoramic drawing from the front porch of Babcock's comfortable residence on Rincon Hill at #11 Essex Street. His drawing was published as a four-color lithograph in Boston for a public hungry for scenes of California and the raw new port of San Francisco.

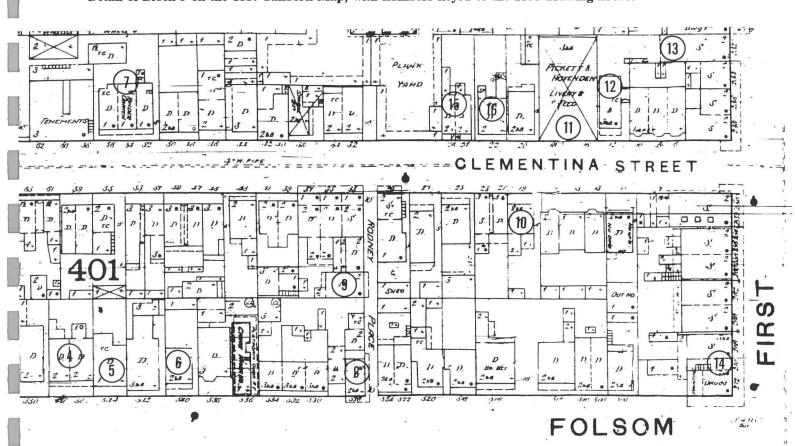
About 200 feet south of Folsom, the artist stood on a rise at least 60 feet above the street. He detailed Tar Flat, where Main and Beale Streets can be seen as long wharves on pilings, stretching from Folsom to Mission and Market streets. He drew the clearly visible stranded storeship (Ship A), lying on the east side of the Main Street Wharf, with its commercial front built on the wharf and the ship's hull resting on the mud. On the southwest corner of First and Folsom, Otis drew Rincon House, a three-story building (#14) with a cupola on top. Used as a boarding house from at least 1854 up through April, 1906, this building appears in many photographs and views of Block 5, starting with the December 1854 woodcut, Plate 2.6.

For research purposes, this drawing is important because many of the same structures appear in subsequent photographs, and on the detailed building plans on the 1887 Sanborn Maps. Numbers were assigned to individual structures in order to key the maps to photographs.

The Sanborn Map inset shows the Folsom, First, and Clementina street frontages in 1887, with numbers keyed to the lithograph above. Starting at the far left, Gold Rush structure #4 is the duplex home with a peaked roof and front porch (348 and 346 Folsom in 1887). House #6 has a steep roof with carpenter gothic trim that was becoming popular in San Francisco in the mid-1850s. Building #8 marks the corner of Rodney Place; all of the frontage between Rodney Place and Rincon House was undeveloped in 1855 (except for a shed-like structure in back of building #10 on Clementina Street). The dwellings between Rodney Place and the Rincon House on First Street were built between 1855 and 1868.



Detail of Block 5 on the 1887 Sanborn Map, with numbers keyed to the 1855 drawing above.



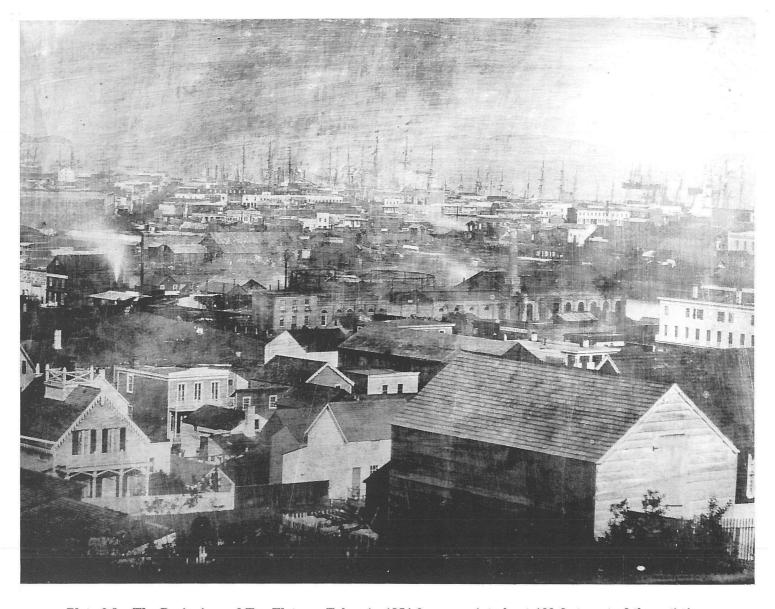


Plate 2.9: The Beginnings of Tar Flat... Taken in 1854 from a point about 100 feet west of the artist's perspective in Plate 2.8, this daguerreotype dramatically verifies the accuracy of the Otis view. Buildings marked on the Otis view which also appear here include #6, 11, 12, 15, 16, 31, and 32. Ship C appears directly above the cylindrical gas holder in the center.

While the Otis view conveys an image colored by domesticity, here we see the hard edges of the beginnings of industrialization and the creation of Tar Flat. This was the everyday view that residents of Rincon Hill enjoyed of Victorian progress.

The San Francisco stock and exchange board was organized to accommodate the dealers in the shares of silver mining companies. . . . The largest gold mine ever worked in California was a small affair financially as compared with the leading mines in the Comstock Lode [Hittell 1878:332-333].

Memories of the fortunes made by speculation in the Gold Rush were fresh in the minds of investors who scrambled to get in on the ground floor of new bonanzas. Everyone knew someone who had the latest inside information on silver strikes. The laundress and the bartender, the mining engineer straight from Virginia City and the avid speculator from England, the stock broker over his Pisco punch and the hairdresser with his curling iron--everybody dealt in Comstock mining stocks. Two national events fueled San Francisco optimism: the Civil War and the coming of the transcontinental railroad.

Given the flow of treasure pouring out of California, it became all the more urgent in Washington to insure that the "gold and silver state" declare itself as part of the Union. On July 2, 1862, in the dark hours of the Civil War, President Lincoln signed the Pacific Railroad Act, pressured by the fear that the western states, led by California, might form an independent union. The act was the political plum of the age. San Francisco reacted with tumultuous celebration.

It was an unshakable article of faith that the coming of the transcontinental railroad would bring an incredible cornucopia of prosperity to the city lucky enough to be at the terminus. The solitary warning voice of local economist Henry George (he lived on Blocks 9 and 7), was scarcely heard, and certainly not heeded:

The truth is, that the completion of the railroad and the consequent great increase of business and population, will not be a benefit to all of us, but . . . only to a portion. As a general rule . . . those who have, it will make wealthier; for those who have not, it will make it harder to get. . . . Those who have land, mines, established businesses, special abilities of certain kinds, will become richer for it and find increased opportunities; those who have only their own labor will become poorer, and find it harder to get ahead--first because it will take more capital to buy land or to get into business; and second, because as competition reduces the wages of labor, this capital will be harder for them to obtain. . . . Let us not imagine ourselves in a fool's paradise, where golden apples will drop into our mouths [George 1868].

The Civil War, which restricted trade on the Atlantic slope, did provide an immediate and substantial stimulus to the economy of the Pacific coast. While the rest of the country suffered from inflation, economic disruption, and the human costs of civil conflict, California was largely uninvolved. Asbury Harpending, always the astute observer of San Francisco, summed it up:

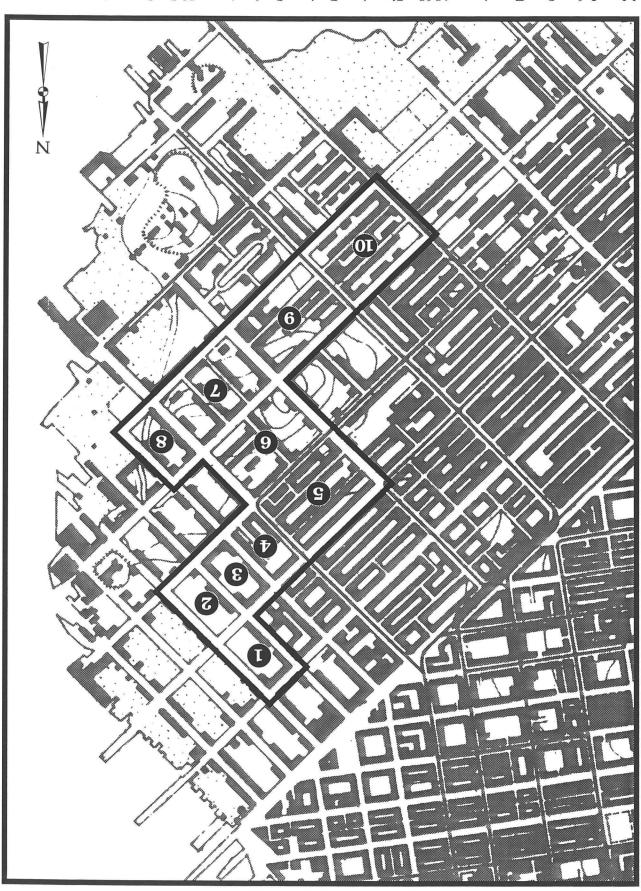
Few seem to understand that the decade between 1860 and 1870 was, next to the gold age of the '50s, the most important in the history of California. It was the period of transition from the fierce exploitation of the pioneers who looked only on the region as a thing to be despoiled of its treasures and to be abandoned. It saw the silent valleys changed to broad oceans of waving grain. It saw the foothills crowned with thrifty vineyards. . . . It saw the port of San Francisco crowded with masts of vessels to carry its new-found wealth to distant lands, saw a mighty foreign commerce develop, saw the treasures of the Comstock unlocked, saw a railroad stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific. . . . It was an intense, booming, hopeful decade, a period of great events and great men, when everyone at last realized that gold was the smallest part of the state's resources [1913:110].

The Effect of the Age of Silver on the South of Market

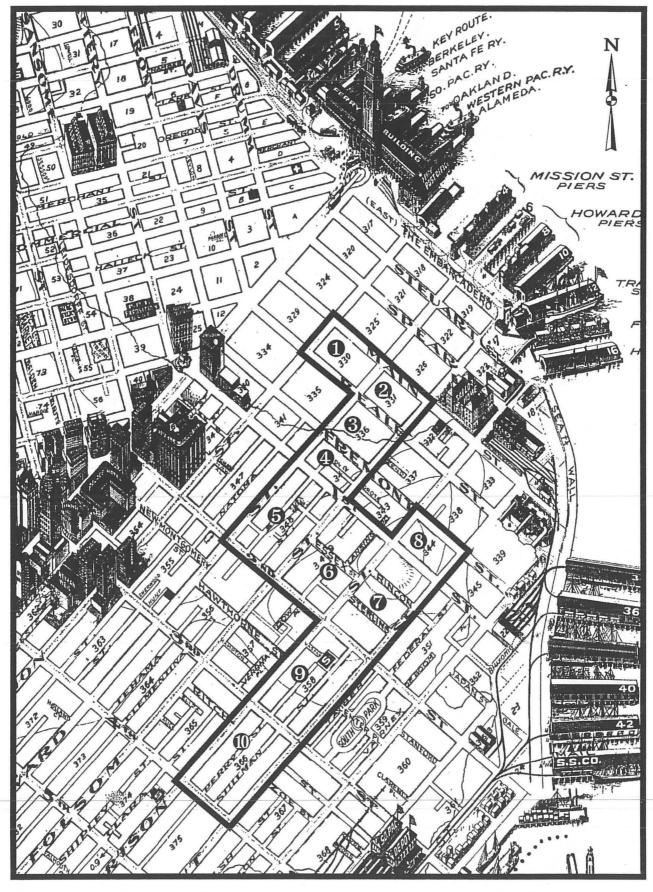
An expansion of real estate investment South of Market began almost at once following the discovery of the Comstock mines in 1859/60, and continued through the decade. The southern waterfront took on a new importance when Long Bridge was built out the line of Fourth Street (at Channel) in 1865, as a 7-mile causeway, turning on to Third Street (Railroad Avenue) and extending to Potrero Point; by 1867 the route ran all the way to Hunters Point. Long Bridge effectively cut off Mission Bay from water traffic, making it available for landfill and eventual development; the railroads were granted 350 acres of Mission Bay for their upcoming railroad freight operation.

The most important steamship company on the West Coast, the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, moved their wharf from the north waterfront to an extension of First Street, where they built a one-thousand foot wharf and the large brick Oriental Warehouse (1868). With this single move, most of the steamers operating to and from New York, in addition to all the big steamers to the Far East, arrived and departed from the pier at foot of First Street, with a continuous stream of freight and passengers moving from the south waterfront to and from the city.

A railroad ferry slip was constructed at the foot of Second Street to accommodate the railroad freight ferries that floated whole trains of boxcars from Oakland to the city. There was "private manipulation" to cut through Second Street on Rincon Hill to connect this newly active part of the southern waterfront with the city in the north. Whether the Second Street Cut in 1869 was accomplished by John Middleton acting solely on his own, as a misguided effort to increase the value of his own lot at Second and Bryant streets, or whether he acted as the front man for the powerful railroad interests is not certain. But the only gain realized was to railroad capitalists who owned property at the foot of Second and on Mission Bay.



Map 2.6: San Francisco, 1869, Showing Project Study Area (U.S. Coast Survey)



Map 2.7: The "Chevalier Commercial, Pictorial and Tourist Map of San Francisco" 1912, Showing Numbered Project Blocks

Middleton accomplished his aim by getting elected to the 17th Session of the State Legislature. In February of 1868, he introduced Assembly Bill 444, which authorized "the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco to modify and change the grade of streets in the City and the County." Harrison Street was to be lowered 87 feet and a viaduct was ordered built across the chasm that would be created. Once the hill was cut through (see Plate 3.13), the integrity of the hill as an entirely residential neighborhood was compromised. What had been the model Victorian neighborhood of the city in the 1850s now saw the departure of many prominent residents. Except for a few unfortunates who actually saw their houses slide into the 70-foot abyss at Harrison and Second, the change was gradual but ineluctable. Real estate values took a tumble:

One of the finest residences in the city, situated on Harrison Street, between First and Second, is being sold. While the lot had cost \$8,000, and the house \$20,000 to build, because of the cutting down of Second Street and the certainty that all Rincon Hill would sooner or later follow it, the house sold for \$20,000 [Real Estate Circular, October 1870].

And from the same publication two years later:

A sale was lately made on Second Street which strongly illustrates the injury done to many property owners by cutting down the hill. A two-story frame building on the east side, north of Harrison, costing \$12,000 fifteen years ago, worth \$20,000 to \$30,000 when the cut was made, was moved back at a cost of \$5,000 and sold for \$5,000 [Real Estate Circular, December 1872].

The departure of San Francisco's power elite from Rincon Hill has been best documented by Dr. Albert Shumate, who compared addresses in the *Elite Directory* with those in San Francisco's *Blue Book* over a period of years:

San Francisco's first *Elite Directory*, published in 1879, refers to Rincon Hill as the district 'where fragments of polite society still linger.' In the 'calling and address section' of the *Directory*, eighty-three names are listed in the area, seventeen of them in South Park. 10 years later in 1889, the San Francisco *Blue Book* listed thirty-seven entries from Rincon Hill, of whom only three lived in South Park. . . . In 1899 changes were even more marked: only twelve names were listed in the *Blue Book* [1988:49-50].

Predictably, in the decades that followed the Gold Rush, Rincon Hill would have declined with the passage of time and changing tastes, and especially with the growing practicality of commuting by railway--on the cable cars of California Street or the Southern Pacific line down the peninsula. Tastes of the 1870s and 1880s preferred increasingly elaborate and more ostentatious mansions, and underlying the taste for domestic splendor was an equally urgent desire for seclusion from the bustle of the city. Surrounded by industries and workers' neighborhoods, Rincon Hill was no longer the suburb that it was in the 1850s. William Ralston left the hill to build his country house, Belmont, on the San Mateo peninsula. Senator Milton Latham moved to Menlo Park to build Sherwood Hall; while Senator Gwin moved into Latham's house on Folsom, he only lived there from 1878 to 1879. Within the city, the same desire for seclusion had a substantial influence, and the wealthy chose the isolated summits of Nob Hill and Pacific Heights--areas that would never be suitable for industry--for their urban residences.

The migration of the wealthy away from the central city was a general trend that many individuals resisted. In the mid-1870s, well after the excavation of the Second Street cut, Henry Miller, partner in Miller & Lux cattle enterprises and one of the richest men in the state, purchased a handsome Italian villa at the northeast corner of Essex and Harrison on Block 6 (see Plate 2.17) and tore it down to erect in its place a remarkably ugly mansion in the fashionable Italianate style (see Plate 2.13). There, his family spent at least part of each year until burned out in 1906 (see Plate 2.18).

Not only were tastes changing, but members of San Francisco's first mercantile elite were growing older. The young men of the 1850s were aging or dead by the 1880s and 1890s. Frequently, their sons are listed in the city directories as running the family businesses; some remained in the Rincon Hill family home; more often they did not. Roads and transit had improved all over the city. The invention of the cable car in 1875 made living on the steep north waterfront hills convenient, with their sweeping views of the Golden Gate and hills of Marin. Increasingly frequent ferry service connecting to an efficient network of street cars at the Ferry Building made Alameda and the East Bay appealing places to live. Easy railroad commuting to the Peninsula made Atherton, San Mateo, and Burlingame attractive as country suburbs for well-to-do San Franciscans.

With all these outlying residential alternatives, Rincon Hill could no longer hold a preeminent place as the city's enclave of prestige and power. The Second Street cut dramatized the changes and hurried the process. Gunther Barth has argued that the Second Street cut was only important to a social elite and that, in the long run, it was accomplished in the name of progress:

The logistics of transportation also finally pulled the railroad into San Francisco. The tribute the city paid for capturing the new advance in transportation seemed small. Rincon Hill was destroyed as the city's fashionable center. For the few who called the grading an act of vandalism, hundreds of others felt that the reckless attempt to accommodate the coming railroad market marked them as advocates of 'progress' [1975:218].

The Industrialization of Tar Flat, 1860-1905

The transformation of Blocks 1 through 4 during the 1860s--from a mudflat into the densest concentration of the metal-working industries in the Pacific Basin--was a product both of the limitations of geography and the commercial folkways of the era. Geographically, the decisive factor was not only the macro-geography of California's physical isolation from established American and European centers of industry, an isolation which served as a protective barrier stimulating local industry, but also the micro-geography of San Francisco. Heavy industry demanded level ground, easily accessible to a skilled labor pool and to the bay, from which all raw materials were received and through which virtually all finished products were trans-shipped. In San Francisco, most such land was far too valuable for heavy industrial use, and was indeed already divided into different specific commercial uses. Looking farther afield, excellent sites for industry with easy deep-water shipping access could be found by leap-frogging over the existing city to find open land along Potrero Hill, or still further south. Peter Donohue moved the Union Ironworks to Potrero Point in 1882; as the most successful iron founder on the West Coast, he could afford to strike out on his own and take risks.

The fact that most of the iron-founding and metal-working industry did not follow Donohue's lead is because the economic geography of San Francisco already pointed to Tar Flat as the locus of the city's heavy industry. This was as much for negative reasons as for the attractions the district offered. Since the construction of the San Francisco Gas Works in 1854, the shoreline and the shallows of Yerba Buena Cove east of First Street acquired the name Tar Flat, because of the tarry byproduct of the coal gassification process, which was dumped into the convenient mudflats of the bay right behind the gas works at Fremont and Howard. In the meantime, the search for more wharfage led to the city front being extended on piles to the line, first of Main Street, and later of Steuart Street. Steuart Street wharves became the center of the extensive lumber importing trade in the 1860s and 1870s, during which time it was the city front, south of Market.

In the absence of a collective city undertaking to fill all of Tar Flat, left isolated and neglected behind the new pier line, the water lots were only of potential value for industries whose clientele were not too picky about where they engaged in trade. Quite simply, malodorous Tar Flat was good for little else, blackened as it was by the gas works sludge, and stinking from the refuse and the offal of the myriad of saloons, cafes, boarding houses, warehouses, and shipping that crowded the Main and Stuart Street wharves--not to mention the nearby outfalls from the new sewers running down Folsom and Mission streets.

The barrier of Tar Flat that separated these waterfront activities from the city had a complex spatial element. To Rincon Hill residents, the waterfront was useful, but not beautiful or even

socially recognizable. Stevedores were considered a low, unruly element; sailors were almost completely without any effective legal rights, and the same mercantile elite that acted in the 1850s to enforce law and order through the Vigilance committees, turned a blind eye to the practice of Shanghaiing throughout the 19th century. If Rincon Hill represented the initial nucleus of domestic society in San Francisco, the waterfront was a distinctive and mostly separated society of its own, with social rules and a way of life quite different from the rest of the city. As a spatial barrier, Tar Flat underscored the gulf between the respectable city and the waterfront. Because of the geographical uncertainty implicit in the location of Tar Flat, the privately owned water lots of Blocks 1 through 3 were only gradually filled in, mainly in the mid- to late-1860s, as expanding metal-working industries, stimulated by the Civil War boom, needed vacant undeveloped space.

As a result, by 1870 project Blocks 1 through 4, except for portions of their Folsom Street frontages which were built up with houses and shops, were densely and entirely developed for industry (See Plates 2.10, 2.11, and 3.5 to 3.8). On Block 1 alone, by 1880, more than a score of different foundries, machine shops, sheet metal works, blacksmith shops, carriage makers, bolt makers, safe makers, and planing mills were crowded into 25 or 50-foot wide buildings, mostly built of wood and sheathed in corrugated iron, some already constructed of brick to take greater advantage of shortage of land by stacking industries one atop another (see Plate 3.9).

The other element of geography that led to this concentration of specialized industry was the cultural preference for related types of businesses to locate close to one another. The researcher, looking through San Francisco city directories from the 1860s up until the 1906 fire, is immediately struck by this tendency of specialized businesses to congregate together: printers on two blocks of lower California Street, gun smiths on Second, bankers on Montgomery, wholesale grocers on Sacramento, and the metal industry in the Tar Flat. When directory entries are grouped together by business specialty, it is not at all uncommon to find that two-thirds or even three-quarters of a given type of business operated side-by-side, to dominate the economic character of one or several blocks.

Late 19th- and early 20th-century technology, especially the telephone and the automobile, have long since dispersed this centripetal tendency, so much so that it is now difficult to imagine walking through a city of seemingly uniform blocks like San Francisco, and finding that almost every downtown block had a unique commercial character. Yet in an age when business was transacted in person, and the individual made his rounds of the city on foot, such a concentration was inevitable. The miner, the miller, and the steamship captain, when they visited San Francisco to solve mechanical problems and consider the latest improvements in machinery, headed for Tar Flat, and in the course of a day could visit virtually every industry that served their needs--to

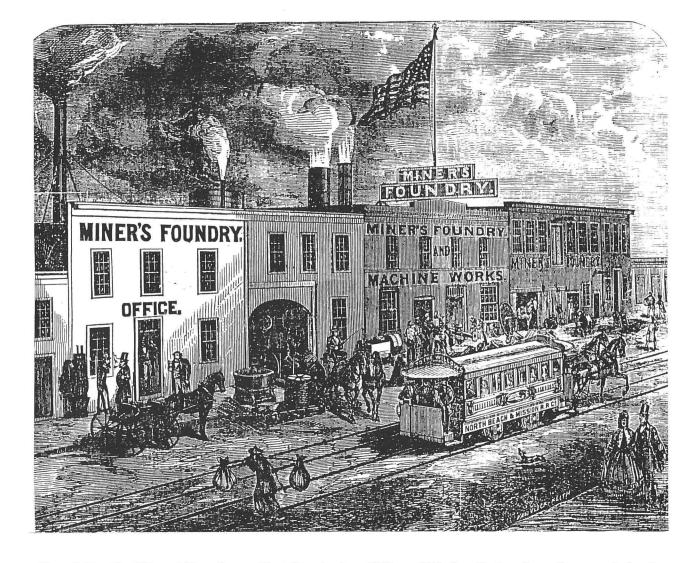


Plate 2.10: The Miners' Foundry on First Street, circa 1865 . . . This frontispiece from the annual circular of the Miners' Foundry of 1865 shows the foundry's frontage along First Street. At the time, San Francisco was world-famous for producing the most advanced mining machinery--made to order to meet the unique conditions of the Sierra and the Comstock. The mine owners were often in a hurry: the faster the ore could be extracted, the more quickly the mine could repay its investors. The best and most innovative equipment was essential.

The Miners' Foundry was started as a cooperative, drawing on the skills of iron molders and pattern makers from England, Scotland, and Wales, many of whom had direct experience as miners. The smokestacks rose from the cupola furnaces where pig and scrap iron was melted for casting. The smoke and steam were, to the citizens of San Francisco, the hallmark of prosperity and industrial progress. Industry meant progress and self-sufficiency.

The noted artist who drew this view, William Keith, specialized at this time in highly accurate mechanical drawings, and later became one of California's most prominent landscape painters. Keith included top-hatted mine owners and engineers conferring by the office door. Workmen haul heavy finished equipment out on the sidewalk. A sure sign of progress was the horse car that allowed foundry workers to live throughout the city and commute to work.



Plate 2.11: Looking up at the Miners' Foundry from First and Folsom, 1867... Taken from the opposite end of the block shown in the preceding plate, this view testifies to the accuracy of the Keith engraving. The large patent grinding and amalgamating pans resting on the sidewalk were a specialty of the Miners' Foundry, and were used to separate the gold and silver from crushed ore using cyanide and mercury. The difficulty of transporting such heavy and unwieldy objects by horse-drawn drays limited the locations of foundries to level areas relatively near the waterfront.

The impressive tower that dominates the skyline is the Selby Shot Tower, built at the corner of Howard and First in 1865. The tower was a south of Market landmark until it was destroyed in 1906; its prominence makes it useful as a visual reference point. From the balcony at the top of the tower, pioneer photographers captured the crowded back yards of the Tar Flat district, showing the contrast between the Victorian streetscape and what lay behind it.

At the extreme left foreground appears part of the portico of the Rincon House (building #14), an institution of many years standing in the neighborhood, and only the most prominent of a row of boarding houses along the west side of First Street that housed many foundrymen and machinists. Grocery stores, shoe repair shops, and saloons occupied their ground floors, where a molder might quench a powerful thirst at the end of his shift, and drop off his boots to have their burnt soles replaced.

compare the merits of competing designs, to haggle over prices, and most of all, to inspect work actually being done.

Through the confluence of these different influences, Tar Flat acquired a unique industrial character in San Francisco. The noise and the soot in the air, the grimy ramshackle buildings, the machinery, castings, and supplies of coal and pig iron that filled the sidewalks--all set Tar Flat sharply apart from the dignified bustle of Market Street and the financial district as much as it did from the quiet purlieus of Rincon Hill. The people, too, differed from the clerks and jobbers of downtown, and the sailors and stevedores of the waterfront.

Foundry men and machinists formed the laboring aristocracy of San Francisco, paid far more than their counterparts on the East Coast, and sharply set apart from the common laborers of the docks. Their work was hot and dangerous, and it was respected. Successful foundry proprietors had themselves begun as molders and blacksmiths, so that the community was not simply sharply divided between owners and workers. The work was demanding in skill as well as muscle, but it was also uncertain, dependent upon the booms and busts of the mining industry: an iron molder might be making 5 dollars a day, working six 12-hour days a week for two months, and then be unemployed for half a year. Flush with cash, he would be expected to buy drinks for all his friends and help out his less fortunate associates; unemployed, he would sooner or later have recourse to the many pawnshops that were scattered along Folsom and Howard streets. For all but the most prudent or most fortunate, the youthful boisterousness of life in the iron works was punctuated by intervals of grinding poverty, and presaged a bleak and often premature old age.

The Underside of an Urban Economy, 1870-1905

Beginning in 1869, the transcontinental railroad brought the first waves of European immigrants from the East Coast directly into San Francisco. The linking of the two coasts, so ardently desired by so many for so long, led to an influx of immigration that had a different character than that of the 1850s. Where earlier immigrants were either rural folk who made the arduous overland journey by wagon, or relatively well-to-do immigrants who could afford the ocean passage, railway travel allowed whole families of urban immigrants from the East Coast to move to California. While the new arrivals searched for jobs, the economy of California suffered a triple-jolt caused by the dumping of cheaper Eastern goods on the market, a severe drought which injured the great grain trade and all of California agriculture, and a large and continuing drop in income from the gold and silver mines (Young 1912:668-669).

Labor faced a buyer's market, and "the iron law of wages"--pay rates that approached the minimum required for survival--bid fair to rule in California as in England and Europe. In the

winter months, field workers looked for jobs in San Francisco; the face of unemployment became even more distressingly visible South of Market and along the waterfront. If this were not enough, the Chinese steadily increased in number from 1860 to 1880.

California's increase in Chinese between 1860 and 1880 was 115%, while the total increase in population was 127%. Although the latter statistic included women and children, the Chinese gain consisted overwhelmingly of working-age males. So, while a typical immigrant family supplied one or sometimes two people to the work force, practically all of the Chinese arrivals directly competed for jobs in the marketplace (Olmsted et al. 1979:125). It was axiomatic that the Chinese worked for less money, for they did not have families in California to support and were willing to live and work in conditions otherwise seen most frequently in railroad work trains, primitive mining camps, and the forecastles of Cape Horn "hell ships."

In San Francisco, the competition between the Chinese and white workers was even more intense than the rest of California. In 1880, there were at least 19,000 to 20,000 working-age Chinese males in the city; the 1880 census gave the over-all total Chinese population in the city at 21,213, but this was believed to be an under-count. The white male population at the same time would have been 74,500. Neil Shumsky (1972:46-47) has estimated that the Chinese represented 25% of the unskilled and semi-skilled working force. This is a conservative estimate: the figure would appear to be closer to 33%. With one-out-of-every-four working males being Chinese and competing for scarce jobs, "The Chinese Must Go" became the slogan of the Workingman's Political Party in the 1870s (Olmsted et al. 1979:120-125).

These pernicious economic conditions were aggravated by the crash of the San Francisco Stock Market in 1875. On August 25, 1875, *The Morning Call* headlined "A great Decline in the Value of Mining Stocks." Two days later the news was much worse:

A GREAT CRISIS--Unprecedented Panic in San Francisco. The Bank of California suspended payment, and virtually closed its doors at half past 2 o'clock yesterday afternoon. The suspension was the culmination of a run on the bank of less than one hour's duration, yet, in its nature, unprecedented in the history of the institution. The announcement of the stoppage created widespread consternation . . . the crowd rapidly collected in front of the bank, echoed the interrogation, and surged to and fro, and struggled to obtain favor with the policemen at the bank portals. The window blinds were shut and doors were closed on Sunday. Through a small wicket of the greater door on California Street people were passing in and out, with anxious faces, some beaming under money-bags, other groaning because their checks had produced nothing. There was dismay on the faces of the crowds in the street. . . [Morning Call, August 27, 1875].

The financial panic of 1875 fueled the uneasy resentment of many working-class San Franciscans, resulting in parades lit by sandlot bonfires on South of Market corners, and led by the Workingman's Party. Not a labor movement, but a loose political amalgamation of angry men (many of them skilled craftsmen), who had been out of work for months at a time: men whose memories of the 1850s and 1860s recalled working for \$16 to \$20 a day, but who now considered themselves fortunate to find a laboring job at a dollar day. When Charles Crocker ran a newspaper ad: "Wanted: 100 men to work as day labor for \$1 a day, bring your own pick and shovel" over a thousand men showed up, resulting in name calling, rock throwing, and a near riot. This in San Francisco, whose workers prided themselves on getting higher wages than their counterparts on the East Coast. A comparison of wages over a 10-year period in New York and San Francisco shows the disparities:

Occupation	1870		18	380	
	S.F.	N.Y.	S	F. N.Y.	
Bricklayers	5.00	3.16	4.	00 3.12	
Carpenters	3.85	2.88	3.	35 3.41	
Hod Carriers	3.00	1.96	2.	50 2.03	
Laborers	2.00	1.76	2.	00 1.39	
Machinists	3.37	2.27	3.	.03 2.53	
Masons	5.00	2.89	4.	.89 2.50	
Plumbers	3.86	2.76	3.	.63 3.39	
Teamsters	2.64	1.70	2.	.68 2.49	
		[Shum	[Shumsky 1972:48]		

The decades from 1875 through 1905 saw great extremes of wealth and poverty in San Francisco, with many working-class families locked into poverty. The diary of Frank Roney is one of the few day-to-day written records we have preserved of what life was like, South of Market, during this period. Roney, an Irish iron molder active in the Workingman's Party, rented various small cottages and cheap flats for his wife, child, and his out-of-work nephew who was supposed to contribute as a "lodger." Roney characteristically listed his expenses, his debts, and whatever money he could earn. His life was a continual search for work:

January 15: 1875. Received today from Mr. Seecraft an introduction to Mr. Dimmick of the Union foundry who was courteous enough and who had forgotten about me. He promised me a job and said he would send for me, I hope so and will wait to see. Things look mighty blue at present. No money, rent due, nothing coming from the room to help pay the rent, coal nearly out, little food in the

house, and worst of all no prospects ahead either to pay what is due or to replace what is nearly out. Even if I got a job it would be a month before I could have any money, God only knows what I will or can do under such circumstances. Tried to see Earl V. Fonda to see if through him I could get a job of laying Schillinger Patent sidewalks, but failing to see him, have left a card requesting him to call me. And Charlie Butterfield's raffle for his ring was to come off tonight by which I expect to get \$7 for his month's rent, but it has proved a miserable failure so far [Roney 1875:n.p.].

The contrast between the lives of the growing numbers of unemployed men and the rich capitalists was made all the more visible by the construction of incongruous Italianate-Gothic fortresses for the latter on Nob Hill,

The men who had contrived these urban castles were not merely wealthy; there were plenty of wealthy people in San Francisco in 1880. No, these men were rich, rich on that level at which money ceases to have real meaning. They were encrusted with wealth, weighted down by it, given a ponderous dignity by it; they wore like armor and its possession defined their lives. . . . Such men had inherited the dream. They toiled not; neither did they spin. They produced nothing, enriched nothing. They had acquired their wealth through means so purely exploitive that the mind is astonished at the ease and simplicity of it all. . . . When the Comstock went bust in 1880, it was not such as Fair and Flood who were damaged. It was the thousands of small investors—the miners, shopkeepers, bartenders, shoe clerks and domestic workers—whose blind faith in the mines had bloated the value of the nabobs' certificates and whose patrimonies had been steadily sucked away through all the years of assessments for exploratory tunneling, for new equipment, for rising milling costs, while those in control calmly and cheerfully raked everything off the top [Olmsted and Watkins 1976:152-153].

One way in which the railroad and silver barons acquired their wealth was through political influence at the levels of the state and federal governments, but local San Francisco government was a different matter. Although local politicians could be bought and manipulated, their election had to be based to some extent upon their popularity with an electorate dominated working-class voters. The mercantile class of Rincon Hill, which intervened in city government when law and order threatened to get out of control--for the last time with the vigilance committee of 1856-were vastly outnumbered by the legions of European, and especially Irish, immigrants. In San Francisco politics, the saloons of Tar Flat elected supervisors and mayors (several of whom lived on Rincon Hill on Blocks 6 and 7), but to many San Franciscans, the corruption involved in that process of democracy paled into insignificance when seen against the backdrop of Nob Hill.

Plate 2.12: Domestic Refinement in the 1850s . . . Rincon Hill houses directly expressed the tastes of their owners. On Block 7, at 555 Harrison, banker William M. Lent, a wealthy mining stock investor on the board of the Bank of California, lived in this Victorian gothic residence. "The estate had a black and white marble sidewalk, flanked at each end with two cast-iron lions couchant In front, a fountain played on festive occasions, and in the garden proper were statues of Apollo, Diana, two deer, and dogs of various kinds . . . in the aviary, quail called to each other. A large green parrot shrieked military orders in French, much to the the young" (Breeze delight of At the time of the 1935:n.p.). description, Jerome Lincoln had purchased the house and installed the parrot. Lincoln was the director of the Bank of California, and he lived here until forced out by the great fire of 1906.



Plate 2.13: The Progress of Victorian Taste increasingly ran to larger and more ostentatious houses. Henry Miller, the cattle-baron, demolished a graceful villa from the 1860s (shown on Plate 2.17) to build this much larger house at the corner of Essex and Harrison on Block 6 in 1877. As the 1906 fire drew near, Miller carefully locked the front door and pocketed the key when he departed. That key is the only keepsake of the house to survive. Both views, California Historical Society



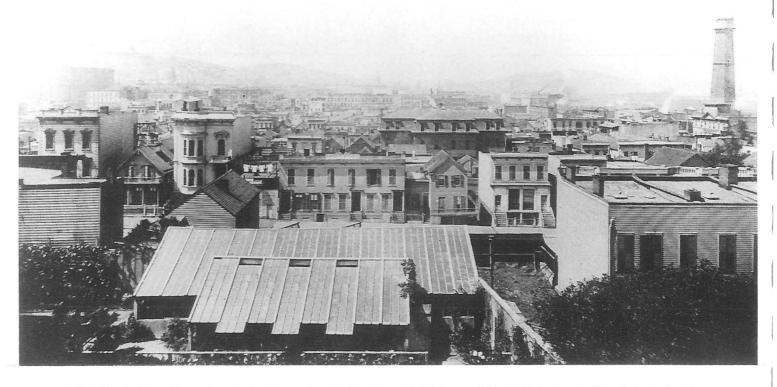


Plate 2.14: View from Essex Street over Block 5 in the mid-1880s... About thirty years after Otis made his careful drawing seen in Plate 2.8, a photographer stood on Babcock's front porch and recorded the Folsom Street frontage on Block 5, this time with Babcock's greenhouse in the foreground.

Some of the Gold Rush structures still intact in this plate include the peaked-roof house #6 (540 Folsom), now dwarfed by three-story flats on either side. Structure #33 also persists from 1855, as a row of three-story flats (534-530 Folsom). Building #8 can still be found on the corner of Rodney Place (528 Folsom). The early Tehama School has been rebuilt and enlarged on the same site. Selby's Shot Tower on the far right marks the northwest corner of Block 4. Every lot on Block 5 has been built upon and the close-up view over rooftops on Plate 2.14 reveals structures in poor condition, badly needing paint, and with many ad hoc additions.

San Francisco Public Library, History Room

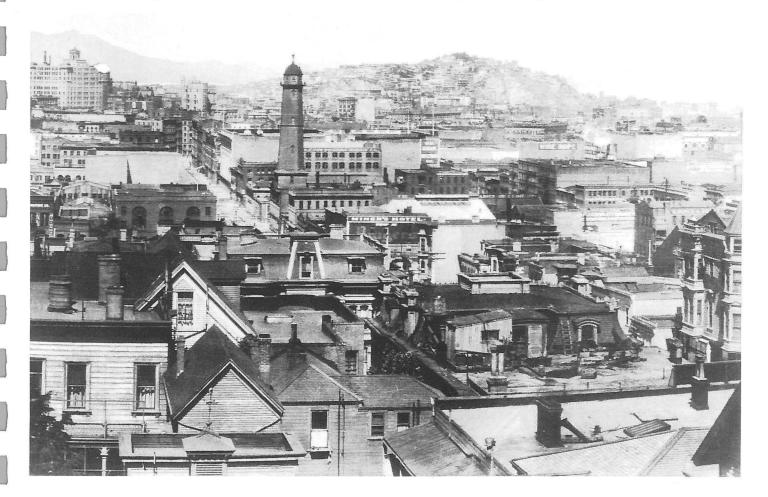
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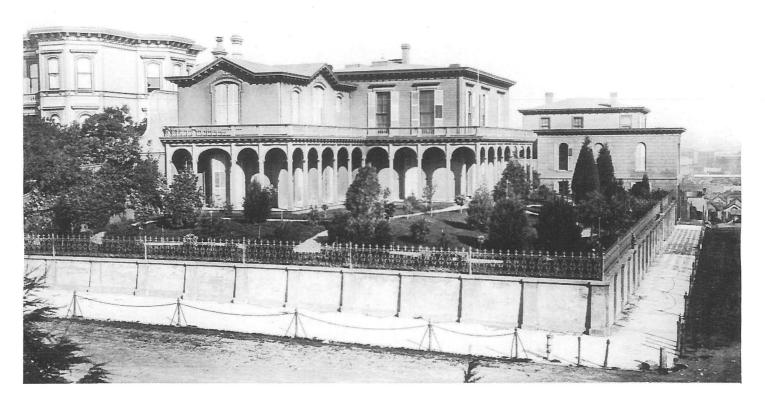
Plate 2.16: Looking Across First Street, Early April, 1906...
The photographer stood above Guy Place on Block 6 to take the last surviving view of Rincon Hill and First Street dating just before the great earthquake and fire. Signs advertise: The Miners' Hotel on First, the J. C. Hendy Machine Works, the Abner Doble Cable Company, the Pieper Machine Company's Sawing & Mining Machinery, the H. M. Cook Belting Company, and the O.E. Pumping Engine Company. This is the last look at Project Blocks 2 through 6 before they burned in the 1906 fire. All was consumed by the fire storms that followed the quake. Only the foundations of 19th century houses appear in post-fire photographs.

Both views on facing page: California Historical Society



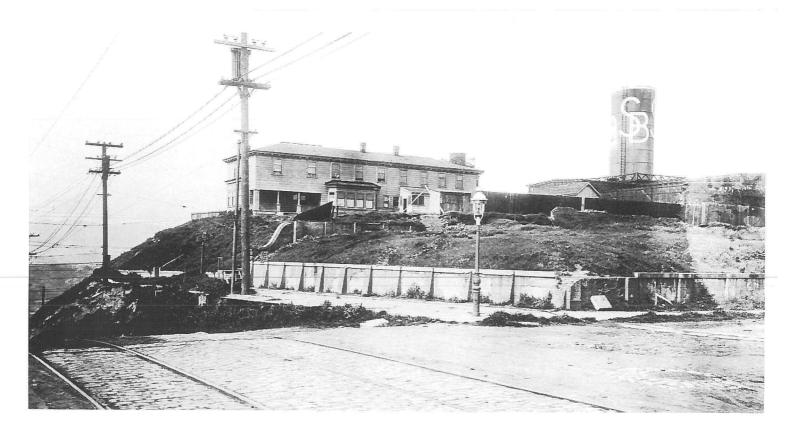
Plate 2.15: Looking South from the Selby Shot Tower, circa 1885 . . . From the 200-foot lookout, the view shows Block 5 on the right, with the 3-story cupola building, the Rincon boarding house, building #14, directly on the corner of First and Folsom. The Golden State and Miners Foundry is directly below, extending back under the sky-lighted roof. The Miners' Hotel is the shadowed rectangular building next door to the foundry.





Plates 2.17 & 2.18: Two views of the corner of Essex and Harrison... The view of the home of Lawrence Coe, a wealthy mining speculator, presents the epitome of domestic elegance in the 1860s: a refined country villa carefully set in spacious grounds, protected from the bustle of the city by a sturdy wall and iron fence. In the 1870s, this house was bought by millionaire cattle baron Henry Miller, who demolished it to construct an ostentatious Italianate mansion, shown in Plate 2.13. In the view below (taken in 1916) Miller's house has been levelled with the dust, but the retaining wall of the Coe house still remains.

Above, California Historical Society; below, San Francisco Engineering Archives.



To the extent that Tar Flat was a community, its sense of identity was increasingly expressed in workingman's politics, as individuals who had little control over their own economic fortunes sought some degree of security, less through the policies of local government than with the steady jobs the politics alone could provide. Known as "saloon politics," the system of government in San Francisco is documented not only in narrative accounts, but in voter's registration records. In charting the inhabitants of Tar Flat from the 1860s onwards, research has discovered many instances of the same individual appearing in successive voters' registers, at the same address, but with no increase in age. The saloons along Howard and Folsom streets functioned as informal working-mens' clubs, where credit could be obtained, together with plenty of free drinks on election day.

The Prospect of the New Century

For a fairly comfortable middle class, the 1880s and 1890s were relatively prosperous, and the city was a good place to live--provided one ignored Blind Chris Buckley running City Hall from a saloon and taking his cut from the vice that festered on the Barbary Coast and flourished under the tongs that ruled Chinatown.

If the failure of the Comstock in 1880 had cut off its source of ready silver, the deep mines of the Sierra Nevada continued to gouge millions of dollars of gold out of the mountains every year (\$2.1 billion by 1900), and the immense wheat farms of the great Central Valley--most of them owned or financed by San Francisco interests--grew so remarkably that by 1885, California had become the greatest wheat-producing region in the world (and by 1890, the state's farms were yielding forty million bushels a year on 2.75 million acres). Not since the glory days of the Gold Rush, or the first bloom of the Comstock had the city enjoyed so much prosperity, and such considerations as the leprous condition of the city government were easily ignored. That period of bliss came to an end with the great depression of 1893, which saw the failure nationally of 580 banks and more than sixteen thousand businesses across the country, with proportional casualties in California [Olmsted and Watkins 1976:173].

Reform in American politics has often been preceded by depression. In San Francisco it took the shock waves of the 1893 depression to persuade the Democrats to dump Chris Buckley and make serious effort to clean up City Hall's worst excesses. They found a leader in James Duval Phelan, a millionaire who recognized the great divide between the rich and the swelling mass of industrialized workers in the city.

But before Mayor Phelan could begin to bridge the social inequities and make San Francisco the great city he envisioned, the summer of 1901 brought a general strike to the city that started with the Brotherhood of Teamsters and was joined by the 13,000 members of the City Front Federation. The strike paralysed city business for three months--four strikers were killed and hundreds were injured. The mayor refused to bring in state troops, feeling it would be a signal of weakness. The power of the strike was too much for the men who ran the city businesses, and they withdrew their support of their visionary mayor. Boss politics (never vanquished but only in retreat) returned to run the city as Abe Ruef became the new power behind City Hall, with wheeling and dealing, graft, payoffs, and bribes oiling up the wheels of machine politics.

2.3.4 The Changing Face of the City, 1906-1929

In the first years of the 20th century, the beginnings of a dramatic transformation of the city face were already incipient, but the South of Market remained basically in the form it had taken during the city building period. On the eve of the 1906 fire, Tar Flat was still home to most of the industries that had been established there during the city building period, and Rincon Hill was still crowned by elegant villas, though many had long since been converted into boarding houses or private institutions. But, as can be seen in Plate 2.16, these older districts were already dwarfed by highrise office buildings, such as the Merchants Exchange, rising downtown. New technologies were affecting the shape of the city, such as widespread elevator use, mechanical refrigeration, and the electric streetcar. The low and compact city of the 19th century, with its intricate spatial organization of commerce, was already an anachronism. Instead of the mainly utilitarian conception of the city as a mechanism for trade and industry, a new vision was needed; for the middle and upper classes, this was to be found in the idea of the city beautiful.

Daniel Burnham's Report on a Plan for San Francisco was produced in the winter of 1906, with bound copies for city officials and members of the "Association for the Improvement and Adornment of San Francisco" delivered to the basement of City Hall on the afternoon of April the 17th. In sharp contrast to the existing rectangular grid of Victorian San Francisco, the plan envisioned the city rebuilt along grand sweeping avenues on the model of Paris or Washington. No longer would neighborhoods be within walking distance of industry; instead, the layout of the new avenues and land-use zoning would separate the beautiful from the merely useful and necessary as much as possible. Middle-class residential neighborhoods were to be far removed from commerce, industry, and the dwellings of the poor; the juxtaposition of Tar Flat and Rincon Hill was taken as a model of what was wrong with the Victorian city. Industry was to be

banished to the southern waterfront, and vast new tracts of housing developed on the opposite side of the city, amidst the desolate sand dunes of the Sunset and Richmond districts.

On April 18th, 1906, the day after the Burnham Plan arrived at City Hall, San Francisco was devastated by an earthquake, damaging many downtown masonry buildings and rupturing the city's water and gas mains. In the crowded tenements South of Market, bewildered residents prepared their breakfasts without pausing to consider the probable consequences of broken chimney flues; by mid-morning much of the South of Market was dotted by burning houses. The flames swept west towards the bay, engulfing the foundry district and quickly running up Rincon Hill. As one South of Market resident recalled:

South of Market the decrepit ramshackles, remnants of another generation, flimsy with age, tottering on their foundations had fallen into masses of splintered wood. Cheap lodging houses and hotels had gone down. . . . Here dwelt one-sixth of the city's population. Here, the roll of the dead was longest; here, the fire sprung up the quickest, and spread uncontrolled, with the greatest fury, leaping across the little byways and racing pell-mell from street to street. It was an agony of fear [Wheelan 1926:14].

By April 20th, most of Victorian San Francisco, east of Van Ness, was a ghastly charred ruin, a landscape stripped of its humanity in a way inconceivable to civilized people at the turn of the 20th century; to the classically educated mind of the era, the disaster evoked images of Pompeii; to the pious, Sodom. But to our minds, photographs of the devastation seem to prefigure the worst horrors of a civilization that still, in 1906, imagined that only accidents of nature or acts of God could produce such a catastrophe.

In the weeks and months that followed the earthquake and fire, middle-class opinion, safely ensconced in undamaged neighborhoods in San Francisco or fled to the romantic isolation of pleasant country summer houses, looked to the Burnham Plan as the image of the new city to rise from the ashes. But to those who had lost everything and had no choice but to dwell amidst the ruins, the promise of the Burnham Plan must have seemed as ruthless as the logic of the cutting sweep of its grand avenues. Inevitably, the plan sharpened the conflict between the ideal of the city and the immediate needs of its inhabitants.

What followed was an unequal debate between persuasive voices of the propertied intelligentsia and the greater part of the wealthy class, and the inchoate needs of the many who were less privileged and articulate. To the individual small businessman or householder, rebuilding meant throwing up frame shacks and corrugated iron-clad sheds as soon as the ashes were cold: it was either that or go without a roof over one's head and the practice of a trade. The workings of democracy and capitalism were such that the many prevailed.

In particular, heavy industries needed to find new quarters immediately so that they could begin business anew, both to satisfy the immediate demand for new machinery and building parts, and more urgently, simply to survive. The laborer found ready work; the middle classes had homes and resources mostly outside the burned districts--but for the small machinist, blacksmith, or foundry man of Tar Flat, the fire meant the loss of most or all of his fixed capital. Business directory research shows that many small industrialists were never able to rebuild--as late as 1909, for example, a formerly successful elevator repair shop owner was reduced to being a salesman for an eastern firm, and similar fates befell many men who lacked the necessary capital to rebuild.

To avoid that fate, most small industries and shops rebuilt in temporary quarters, which gradually became more permanent with the passage of several years. To the men who were struggling to rebuild, the Burnham Plan meant nothing but the threat of an enormous additional tax burden necessary to pay for the acquisition of land for the new boulevards--and this, when schools, police and fire stations, and all of the basic public infrastructure of urban life needed to be built anew.

For many of the educated wealthy, the Burnham Plan was a good long term proposition--even aged Hubert Howe Bancroft remarked "Let us have the city beautiful by all means: it will pay." Despite the concentrated efforts of the city's elite, the abandonment of the plan was inevitable, in terms of its formal and expensive elements, but the ideal of the City Beautiful was not so easily discarded. The new city that arose between 1906 and 1917 followed the exact same street grid as the old, but the spatial character of the new city was vastly different.

Instead of the finely grained organization of the old city, with individual trades clustering together on specific blocks, the new city's downtown consisted of general purpose office and loft buildings; the individual tradesman would now locate himself wherever vacant space was available at a price he could pay. Because the new city was built from the ground up in scarcely more than a decade, it had a much more homogeneous character than the old. No longer would middle-class residential neighborhoods abut industrial zones; in the new city, the well-to-do dwelt in fashionable isolation from the sources of their wealth, not to mention the poor. Although the grand boulevards of the Burnham Plan were soon forgotten, the segregation of the city into broad and distinct zones for industry, commerce, and carefully graded classes of residential tracts that was envisaged in the plan remains to this day the basic fabric of the city.

South of Market, the new spatial organization was especially marked. Blocks of small dwellings housing immigrant families gave way to light industries. Nowhere was this more evident than Rincon Hill, which was the only part of the city to be completely transformed in character as a result of the 1906 fire.

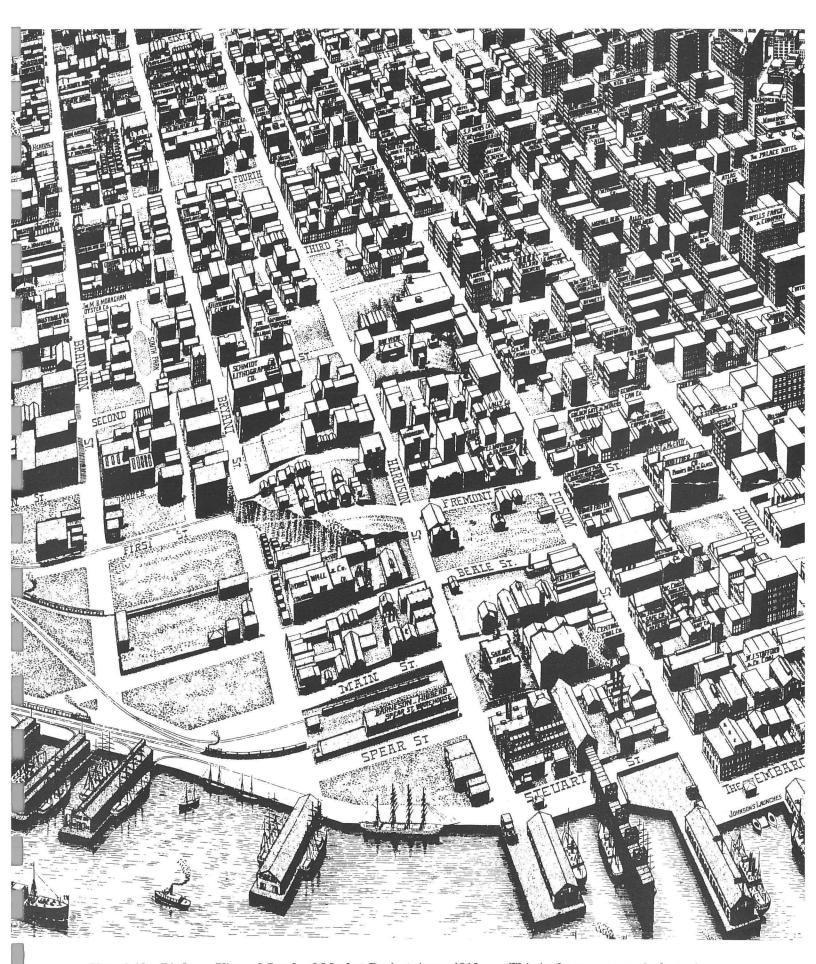


Plate 2.19: Birdseye View of South of Market Project Area, 1912 . . . This is the nearest equivalent of an aerial view of the SF-480 Project area after the 1906 fire and reconstruction of the site. It is a somewhat idealized view, meant to assure visitors to the Panama Pacific Exposition of San Francisco's complete recovery from the 1906 disaster. Building heights have been considerably exaggerated and any open space has been wiped clean of its actual characteristic debris. Many of the vacant lots would remain empty for years to come.



Plate 2.20: Looking Up Harrison at Rincon Hill, 1920... This view is from the roof of a warehouse building across Harrison street from the Sailor's Home at Spear. The incongruous Tudor-style home was actually the rectory of a church, and marks the corner of Fremont and Harrison.

Harrison crossed Beale Street on a viaduct, built as part of O'Shaughnessy's scheme to improve street access. Michael M. O'Shaughnessy was the city's chief engineer for more than twenty years, and it was his mission to convert San Francisco city streets from the hand-made basalt paving of the 1880s into smooth, broad, concrete boulevards, to accommodate greatly increasing numbers of automobiles and trucks. O'Shaughnessy approached every San Francisco hill as an impediment to fast-moving automobile traffic. Rincon Hill was his prime candidate to be cut down, with grades to be lowered from 10 to 89 feet.

There were still waterfront lots in the southern part of the city and around Mission Bay where the fill could be dumped. The fact that much of Rincon Hill was vacant land after the initial post-fire reconstruction made a good candidate for regrading; the working-class residents of the hill were not apt to protest, and absentee property owners stood to gain. Manufacturing businesses would welcome better trucking and rail access so long as they didn't have to foot the bill.

The Rincon Hill Regrade was partly accomplished west of Second Street, but the more ambitious proposal to flatten the entire hill was diverted by the even more pressing need for trans-bay crossings for increasing automobile traffic. Auto ferries were not the answer--bridges were. Rincon Hill offered an ideal footing for bridge, with Yerba Buena Island a convenient middle anchorage. The Bay Bridge and the CALTRANS freeway system have dominated the site for the last 60 years.

Rebuilding Rincon Hill

The conventional image of Rincon Hill after 1906 is shaped the contrast between its pre-fire and post-fire character. The fact that the post-1906 residents of Rincon Hill were mostly poor, and the growing presence of modern industry and its infrastructure, culminating in the Bay Bridge, has led historians to assume that the hill was never rebuilt as a residential neighborhood. Although Rincon Hill did indeed assume a purely industrial character after the demolition required for the building of the approaches to the Bay Bridge in 1935, some of Rincon Hill was rebuilt as a working-class residential neighborhood in the years immediately following the fire, and formed the mostly hidden underside of the City Beautiful.

The growing popularity of the automobile, and the convenience of an extensive electric streetcar system, made an essentially suburban way of life possible for middle class and well-to-do San Franciscans after 1906. Under the Burnham Plan, most of the South of Market district, and Rincon Hill in particular, was slated to become a purely commercial and light industrial area; in contrast to the fate of the grand boulevards, this part of the plan was largely carried out. Except for the interior alleys of the largest blocks, the South of Market was rebuilt with a mixture of shed and loft commercial buildings, with cheap apartments and residential hotels occupying the corners of major intersections: a cityscape that may still be seen in the areas south of Market that have escaped the construction of the freeways and the efforts of the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency.

Rincon Hill presented a problem. Mostly too steep for industry, it was no longer seen as a conceivable neighborhood for members of the middle-class, whose strongly held views of respectability found expression in the homogeneous residential tracts of the suburbs of the City Beautiful. Well into the 1930s, much of the hill would remain vacant, divided only by ruined walls and stairs leading up from the street to empty lots--like an old but unoccupied cemetery.

Only those who had little choice, or who disdained middle-class respectability, made their homes on Rincon Hill after 1906. Some lived in shanties and shacks built out of scrap lumber, sheet metal, and cardboard off of Fremont Street, on sites now entombed beneath the Bay Bridge; elsewhere on the hill, speculators built cheap tenements in the decade following the fire, taking advantage of the housing shortage that the fire had caused. Since most of these buildings were demolished for the construction of the Bay Bridge, it has been easy for both planners and historians to see the area as purely industrial.

Detailed views of every street of Rincon Hill, taken for the purpose of studying its potential for regrading into a purely industrial area in 1920, shows a surprising diversity of relatively substantial wood-frame apartments rising optimistically among large grassy vacant lots. With corner-grocery stores on the ground floors and small, working-class apartments above, the

neighborhood, at that point in time, was architecturally indistinguishable from much of the Mission district.

But the vacant lots tell a different story of development. The neighborhood has the look of an area being rebuilt, but most of this rebuilding took place immediately after the fire, when families and individual working men faced a housing shortage, and property owners built tenements anticipating a high-density working-class neighborhood. But, as the vacant lots show, the rebuilding stopped far short of occupying all the available land. Some of this land may have been held in anticipation of the Rincon Hill Regrade, for the development of new industries. But the main reason that the regrade was never carried out was the overall movement of industry out of the city and towards the northern Peninsula and the East Bay. With the slackening demand for working-class housing that accompanied this industrial shift and the development of the outer Mission and Sunset districts, Rincon Hill tenements could not be rented to profitably repay building costs. To be sure, an unmet demand for housing existed among the very poor, but many of them could only afford shanty life.

The Changing City Front

As early as 1877, city surveyor and engineer T. J. Arnold drew a map of San Francisco's waterfront from Fort Mason to Hunters Point, with the proposed new seawall following the curve of the present-day Embarcadero (Port of San Francisco Archives). The "old seawall," built in stair-steps along a few stretches of the north waterfront, had created a continuing problem of silting up the wharves: the new seawall was designed as a continuous curve, changing the direction of the new wharves so that they were no long extensions of existing streets.

The new seawall was built in sections, mostly from the north waterfront to the south, starting in September 1878, but construction did not reach south of the Ferry Building until 1890. From 1909 until 1924, seawall sections 8 through 13a, from Mission to the Channel, were completed. During this same period, the state-owned Belt Line Railroad was constructed, with a continuous waterfront trackage connecting every pier to railroad freight yards along King and Berry streets, as well as providing service to new and expanded waterfront industries.

It was an ambitious plan aimed at uniting the then dominant freight-moving technologies: shipping by sea and by rail. Ebullient biennial progress reports published by the State Harbor Commission described the promise of San Francisco's maritime future as the dominant port on the West Coast well into the next century. And why not, "Within the decade [1919-1929] the tonnage handled at the port of San Francisco doubled, and the value of the cargoes moving across its wharves soared in the year 1929 to the unprecedented figure of \$1,613,100, 000-twice that

handled by all the other ports in the Bay region. San Francisco, the chief distribution center in the West, could boast in 1929 of almost half the wholesale trade of California" (Scott 1959:202).

But even as the state was expanding the port facilities of San Francisco, a technological change was moving the transportation focus of the city away from the waterfront--the automobile was on the scene. During the 1906 earthquake and fire, what had been considered a rich man's toy proved itself a necessity. The army commandeered every available vehicle (many including chauffeurs) to evacuate the seriously wounded to temporary hospitals, to move command posts from place to place as the fires changed direction, and even to deliver messages from officials and officers when telephone and telegraph lines failed.

It was the growing presence and importance of the automobile for far more than family outings that made potential bridge crossings of the bay take on urgent reality.

By the fall of 1921, engineers had advanced thirteen different proposals for a bay crossing between the San Francisco Peninsula and Alameda county Great public interest attached to the plans of General George W. Goethals for a tube from the foot of Market Street to the Oakland Mole. Provided with two decks, the tube would accommodate vehicular traffic on the upper deck and trains on the lower deck. . . . Rear Admiral Joseph L. Jayne, commandant of the Twelfth Naval District made the familiar proposals that the Key Route [rail] trestle be extended to Yerba Buena Island, that a union ferry terminal be built on the island, and that a ferry be operated between the island and San Francisco until a tunnel could be constructed to replace the ferryboats. There were also two proposals for a high-level cantilever bridge with 2,000-foot spans, from Telegraph Hill to Yerba Buena Island [Scott 1959:178].

In 1927 a proposed elevated highway on San Francisco's Embarcadero was advanced by the Regional Plan Association (the first funded planning group that saw the bay counties as one region with shared problems of transportation and pollution). Reaching into the future, the plan included an elevated "aviation platform" for small planes between Howard, Folsom, and Harrison.

In 1926 the entire population of California was 3,426,861, and growth was rapid: "In 1925, the Regional Plan Association predicted that the San Francisco Bay Area would have 3,175,000 residents in 1950. The Bureau of the Census reported in 1950 that 2,681,322 people were living in the nine counties of the area in April of that year" (Scott 1959:190). The continuing growth of the local counties' population was made possible by the automobile.

During the 1920s, San Francisco remained the undisputed commercial center of the region. "In 1929 San Francisco's stores rang up on their cash registers sales amounting to almost half of all those made in the nine counties bordering on the bay, although only two-fifths of the population of the Bay Area lived in San Francisco. And year after year, that most sensitive

barometer of economic conditions, the annual total of building permits, remained between fifty and sixty million dollars. . . . In 1926 and 1927, structural steel workers fashioned the huge skeleton of the Russ Building [30 stories] . . . two blocks to the south on Montgomery Street rose the Hunter-Dulin building, twenty-three stories high" (Scott 1959:202).

But with the exception of the new Pacific Telephone building on New Montgomery, the office boom of the 1920s was almost entirely north of Market. In the South of Market district, although many lots were either vacant or still occupied by post-fire temporary structures, there were few new office buildings, and Tar Flat remained mostly industrial.

World War I and the boom of the 1920s accelerated a trend towards new technology in industry that subtly changed the economic structure of the city. The change was most visible on Van Ness Avenue, which had become the city's main shopping street after the 1906 fire. In the 1910s and 1920s, Van Ness underwent a further transformation, becoming the concentrated center of automobile sales, repairs, and related industry. The traditional machine shop industry of Tar Flat did not participate in automotive technology to any great extent, and by failing to adapt to change was increasingly overshadowed by the rapidly expanding manufacturing infrastructure that catered to the fleets of cars and trucks that now filled the city's streets. City directories from the 1910s and 1920s give the best indication of this change; as late as 1915, automobile industries seem to have been mostly small garages scattered on minor streets, but by 1929, scores of specialized automobile industries are listed, heavily concentrated along Van Ness Avenue.

Concomitant with the great expansion in private automobile ownership in the 1920s was the emergence of motor trucks as a viable and simple alternative to the complex network of railroads, ferries, and drays that reached its final level of development by about 1920. Because freight hauling was purely utilitarian, it did not attract much attention, but was as important for the economy of the region as passenger transport. Before motor trucks became widely available, most industries had to locate near either railroad lines or along the waterfront. Although rail and water would remain more economical for industries using bulk raw materials until after World War II, new industries that expanded rapidly during the 1920s often used trucks as a primary means of distribution. This new way of marketing was especially notable in manufacturers of processed foods and the many new forms of individualized packaging that accompanied the consumer products boom of the 1920s, because these were goods that were distributed over a wide area.

Industrial Renewal on Rincon Hill

On Rincon Hill, these new industries were particularly prominent, and Sanborn maps and city directories show that many of the new factories built were devoted either to making processed

foods or to paper packaging. Many of the new industries were ancillary to the contemporaneous explosion of paperwork in the private bureaucracies that filled the new office towers north of Market; just providing the necessary accoutrements for office workers required many specialized manufacturers, such as large printing shops, ink-mixing factories, lithographers, office machine and safe makers, and stationary companies. These industries located on Rincon Hill because land was cheap, downtown was nearby, and motor trucks made it possible to distribute finished products from a central location, while raw materials could either be trucked in from the waterfront or directly unloaded from new railroad spurs extended along Beale and Second streets during the 1910s.

The new transportation infrastructure was a primary reason why the Rincon Hill Regrade, surveyed in 1920, was never carried out. The regrade proposed to reduce the level of the hill to grades suitable for drays and railroad locomotives, creating a tidy industrial flatland while eliminating a transportation barrier between the railroad yards of the south waterfront and Tar Flat. But even as the regrade was being projected, new industries--such as the massive Schmidt Lithograph printing complex at Second and Bryant--were already being built. City funds for infrastructure improvement were better spent on paving existing streets and building new automobile boulevards to reach outlying areas. The Bayshore Highway, for example, provided for three lanes of traffic in both directions, linking San Francisco with the peninsula; it not only fueled the growth of suburban residential tracts, but also made it possible for industries south of Market to conveniently reach new markets.

The completion of the first five miles of the Bayshore Highway in 1928 symbolized the city's commitment to the automobile, but also highlighted its industrial dependence upon the older water-borne transportation infrastructure in reaching the north and east bays. Once San Francisco city engineers had made automobile-related improvements a primary commitment, the building of the bay bridges became only a matter of time.

2.3.5 The Urbanization of San Francisco, 1929-1960

The advent of the automobile did not immediately change the pattern of urban development defined by San Francisco's street grid. Through the 1930s, the streets shown on the 1912 Chevalier Map of San Francisco (Map 2.7) remained unchanged except for their extension into underdeveloped areas. A comparison of this map with Map 1.4 shows the imposition of a new transportation infrastructure that is self-consciously separate from the traditional streetscape. Although most of the freeways were built in the 1950s and 1960s, the construction of the bay bridges in the 1930s prepared the way for this new urban order.

In terms of the physical face of the city, the aggregate of changes was more significant than those of any other period in the city's history since the filling of Yerba Buena Cove and the construction of the seawall. For the first time in the city's history, the pattern of rectangular individual property lines was broken, the historic rectangular street grid subordinated to the curving freeway system. The massive footings and entrances to the Bay Bridge now dominate the waterfront south of the Ferry Building--once the most prominent landmark in the city, later reduced to visual insignificance by the former Embarcadero Freeway. These major spatial transformations were planned in the 1920s, but were accomplished beginning in the midst of the Great Depression of the 1930s.

San Francisco's economy was now closely interwoven with the national economy and the nationwide banking and goods-distribution system. With the stock market crash in New York on October 24, 1929, the collapse of the city's previous decade of prosperity was inevitable.

By July 1933, the exchange boards of New York, Chicago, Denver, Los Angeles, and San Francisco showed the same dreadful figures: a drop of 80 percent in the value of stocks and a paper loss of more than \$74 billion. The Gross National Product had fallen from \$104 billion to \$458 million; more than eighty-five thousand businesses had crumbled into bankruptcy; and in 1932 alone more than fourteen hundred banks failed. . . . Agricultural revenue, the keystone of California's economy, dropped from \$750 million in 1929 to \$327 million in 1932. . . . For real estate development, the Depression was nothing short of Armageddon, and thousands of businesses which had fed upon the bubbles of speculation--promoters and developers, banks, savings and loan associations, and construction firms stumbled into receivership. . . . By 1933 more than a million people--20% of the state's population were on state and county relief programs, including thousands and thousands of 'Okies' and 'Arkies,' refugees from the desperation of the Dust Bowl who cranked into California in their wrecked and beaten flivvers looking for work that was not there [Olmsted and Watkins 1976:230].

Although the bridges were projected during the 1920s, their actual construction during the depths of the depression was a powerful image of hope amidst despair. Nothing on this scale had been done in California since the construction of the transcontinental railroad: but while the railroad was built in an empty wilderness, the bridges were at the heart of what was still the largest urban center on the Pacific Coast.

It was appropriate that the bridges were such a visible symbol of the future, because the effect of their construction was to doom the transportation infrastructure (passenger and freight ferries; electric, steam, and cable railways; passenger and goods distribution nexus, such as the ferry building and central produce district) that had been carefully contrived and expanded over the

previous seven decades. The changes were not restricted to transportation; while the bridges were being planned, there was considerable debate over their long-term effects on the development of the region as a whole. No transportation system had ever been altered so dramatically before in such a short period of time, and leaders of communities throughout northern California tried to assess what the changes would mean for themselves.

Initially, powerful railroad interests opposed bridge construction, but it is a measure of changing times that even the railroads were forced to abandon their hopeless opposition, though few then realized the eventual implications of putting automobile-oriented public works ahead of any other planning considerations. In the end, communities convinced themselves that the bridges would give them an edge over their neighbors--who were just as firmly convinced that they would be the prime beneficiaries. In truth, beyond the inevitable growth of outlying suburbs, nobody could predict with any certainty just how the balance of development and the texture of the urban fabric of the region would change as a result of the bridges.

The Hub Of Change: Rincon Hill Transformed

The state legislature created the California Toll Bridge Authority in May of 1929, with the special injunction that the authority "lay out, acquire, and construct a highway crossing from the City of San Francisco to the county of Alameda." President Hoover, an engineer himself, was one of the prime movers behind the new bridge, securing the necessary approval of the Navy. In 1930, test borings showed that, because of an underwater rock ridge between Rincon Hill and Yerba Buena Island, the exact route of the bridge was foreordained by geology. Since the Navy imposed minimum clearance requirements on the design of the bridge, the use of Rincon Hill as a natural high-level western base greatly simplified the construction of the San Francisco approaches to the bridge.

To provide for the western anchorage of the bridge cables, the chosen route of the approaches, midway between Harrison and Bryant, was cleared of shanties and tenements, beginning in 1932. Property owners were doubtless relieved to receive good prices for their land from the State; whether their tenants were given assistance in relocating is less probable. Some shanty-dwellers only obtained compensation (\$300 each) after newspapers publicized their plight. The right-of-way chosen had the advantage of touching the hill at its highest point; careful routing of the approaches down the center of the blocks bypassed most large industrial buildings, so that only working-class housing, small machine shops and warehouses, and vacant lots needed to be cleared. Likewise, structures along Harrison and Bryant largely screened the elevated approaches

from surrounding blocks, diminishing noise and disruption, and leaving undisturbed the few public open spaces in the neighborhood, such as South Park.

From the start, an electric railway line across the bridge was conceived as an integral part of transportation planning for the Bay Area. For Oakland and other East Bay cities, the railway meant that commuters would no longer be at a disadvantage compared with San Francisco residents and commuters from the peninsula. For San Francisco, the Bridge Railway promised to maintain some degree of balance between automobiles and mass transit: already, in the 1920s, buildings downtown and South of Market were being demolished for parking lots, and the first high-rise parking garages were being built. Trains operating over the Bridge Railway would not simply serve a few central points in Oakland, but fanned out over existing trackage along major streets to be within walking distance of most Oakland and Berkeley residents; transit times of twenty minutes between downtown Berkeley and San Francisco compared favorably with Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) train service in the 1970s and 1980s, planned in the late 1950s to replace the Bridge Railway. Indeed, the Bridge Railway directly linked San Francisco not only with much of the East Bay, but with interurban electric service reaching as far north as Chico. Never before, or since, has public transit in the Bay Area been so well-conceived or so well integrated into the city's fabric.

The location of the downtown terminus of the Bridge Railway was the subject of considerable debate; ideally, the terminus would serve not only the Bridge Railway, but also other existing rail service. San Francisco was considering constructing an extensive subway system branching out of a Market Street stem and terminating at Fremont and Howard streets, but the \$49,000,000 price seemed too high to voters asked to pass a bond issue in 1937 (Scott 1959:239). Only after the bridge itself was completed in 1936 did work begin on the terminal, whose location at First and Mission was chosen because it was the most central location accessible by an elevated viaduct. The delay in construction of the Bridge Railway terminal following the completion of the bridge itself encouraged commuters to switch to carpooling in the intervening three years; as a result, the railway was never used to the capacity for which it was designed, and the private operators of its trains soon found themselves losing money, especially after the Toll Bridge Authority slashed the toll from an initial 65 cents each way to 25 cents by 1940, making driving cheaper than taking the train.

The construction of the Transbay Terminal and the Bay Bridge approaches made the Rincon Hill and Tar Flat districts the transportation hub of San Francisco. At the same time, it decisively shifted the focus of transportation activities away from the waterfront, whose commerce was now limited to seagoing vessels, most of whose cargo (with the important exception of coffee and spices) was loaded directly onto Belt Line Railway trains for trans-shipment elsewhere. Already,

in the 1920s, Rincon Hill had become the site of new industries, and the bridge served as a further stimulus to light industries dependent on truck distribution of their products. Indeed, the portion of the lower deck of the bridge that was not used for the Bridge Railway was reserved for trucks and buses, which had their own approach ramps debouching onto the summit of Rincon Hill. As a result, during the late 1930s and continuing through the 1940s, a number of new industrial buildings were erected on the hill, replacing all but a handful of the remaining houses and apartments. At the same time, the combination of the depression, changing technology, and the pressure from new industries led to the disappearance of most of the remaining metal-working industries of Tar Flat.

The Transbay Terminal approach ramps were routed through the center of the blocks that were still occupied by metal-working industries, and many closed down entirely rather than relocate. The Miners' Foundry, for example, in operation on the same site since 1860, was partly demolished to make way for the Bridge Railway viaduct; the remaining part of the building was put to other uses before being demolished for the construction of SF-480. Although a few traditional industries did remain (the city's one remaining blacksmith shop is still located on Folsom Street near First), the industrial character of the district was now dominated by modern "clean" industries housed in multi-storied concrete loft buildings, rather than the ramshackle sheds and open yards of the old Tar Flat.

Because most of Rincon Hill's industries were now oriented towards packaged food and office products, World War II had relatively little effect on the hill; war industries were located further south near Potrero Hill and Hunters Point. Likewise, the decade following the war saw little change either on the hill or in the city as a whole: for the first time, the population of San Francisco stabilized and seemed likely to decline, as young families abandoned the city neighborhoods they had grown up in for rapidly expanding suburbs outside the city limits.

The Federal Interstate Highway Act in 1956 projected a nationwide network of "defense highways"--freeways ostensibly built to standards heavy enough to support the tanks that would repel a Soviet invasion or quell a communist-planned domestic insurrection, but more realistically designed to handle the heaviest of trucks. SF-480 was one of the first of the many new urban freeways constructed under this act. Originally planned to provide a link between the bridges, the segment actually constructed in the late 1950s came to a premature termination at Broadway on the north waterfront. The construction of SF-480 was accompanied by the abandonment of the bridge railway and the conversion of the Transbay Terminal into a bus station. Transbay train service came to an end in 1958, and the tracks were removed beginning in 1961. During the same years, BART was being planned, and after some consideration, the Bridge Railway, though only 20 years old, was thought too anachronistic for the futuristic transit system.

2.3.6 The Post-Industrial City, 1960-1992

The "Freeway Revolt" of the 1960s, which effectively brought new highway construction in the northern half of San Francisco to a halt, was in large part successful because SF-480 offended the traditional aesthetic sensibilities of San Franciscans. Too many influential people saw the freeway as a "Chinese Wall" that blighted the waterfront, rather than understanding that it was an important part of a thoroughly planned transportation network that could be seen as necessary, given the decision to rely upon motor transport that was a consequence of the bay bridges. Proposals to make SF-480 more appealing to the tradition-minded by cladding its cleanly functional concrete structure with travertine and granite were not realized, and the freeway remained a monument to transportation planning until it was partially demolished following 1989 earthquake damage.

One unlooked-for effect of SF-480 that most of its opponents in the early 1960s did not consider was that it formed a substantial barrier that helped to preserve both Rincon Hill and the waterfront from new development during the 1960s and 1970s, a period now widely recognized as unusually unfortunate from the standpoint of architectural and urban design. There can be little doubt that, without the protection of the SF-480 rampart, the waterfront near the foot of Market would now resemble Fisherman's Wharf on a larger scale. To the lasting good fortune of the city, proposals beginning in 1956 and periodically revived through the late 1970s to more or less demolish and "modernize" the Ferry Building never reached fruition, partly because the close proximity of SF-480 made the Ferry Building's situation unattractive to investors. As a consequence, the waterfront contiguous to the Embarcadero was largely undamaged by construction during this period, in which much of the rest of downtown San Francisco was filled with scaleless highrise office blocks. In the immediate SF-480 project area, there was virtually no new construction between the early 1950s and the late 1980s. Today, planners have the opportunity to reintegrate Rincon Hill into the fabric of the city, while respecting its past.

3.1 HISTORY OF THE TAR FLAT AND RINCON HILL STUDY AREAS

3.0 The Natural Site and How It Has Changed

Until it was covered by the growing city, most of the natural site of San Francisco presented a bleak and unappealing prospect to the visitors who have recorded their impressions. The steep hills were barren of trees, and the greater portion of the more level parts of what is now urban San Francisco was covered by drifting sand dunes, some more than 100 feet high. Indeed, one of the main reasons for the location of the Mission Dolores was that it was in one of the few sheltered and flat areas that was not too far removed from the bay and had streams of fresh water: San Francisco receives little rainfall, had but few small natural lakes, and what rain did fall tended to vanish into the sand. The only trees were scrub oaks growing in protected hollows and willows along the sparse streams. Except for the summits of Twin Peaks, and a small grove of surviving scrub oaks in what was to become Golden Gate Park along Fulton Street, none of the now-prized verdant open space remaining in San Francisco bears much relation to its natural condition.

The suspicions of the Spanish military enforced the first official anchorage for foreign visitors near the Presidio, close to the present Palace of Fine Arts. From any perspective other than military security, a worse anchorage could hardly have been chosen: subject to treacherous currents, the full force of the winds, and especially destitute of firewood and fresh water, it seemed better contrived to discourage than accommodate visiting vessels.

The end of Spanish rule over the New World, from the 1810s to the early 1820s, coincided with the tremendous expansion of the United States merchant marine; by the time of the visit of British explorer Captain Beechey in 1826, Yerba Buena Cove--the site of most of the present financial district in San Francisco--had become the preferred anchorage. The reasons for this were simple enough. As Beechey noted in his account of his voyage, Yerba Buena Cove offered the first protected anchorage on the San Francisco peninsula; once the obstacle of Blossom Rock was passed (which Beechey named after his ship, the *Blossom*), Yerba Buena Cove appeared as a large, crescent-shaped inlet between the protecting arms of Telegraph Hill and Rincon Hill (Beechey 1833 vol. 2:4). Unlike the marshes that bordered Mission Bay to the south, Yerba Buena Cove had a sandy beach (Harrison 1848); fresh water was available from springs near present-day Portsmouth Square.

The earliest accurate and complete depiction of the 10-block site that makes up the SF-480 project is San Francisco's first U.S. Coast Survey Chart, published in 1853, carrying survey information from February of 1852. The project area, overlaid on a portion of this chart (Map 2.1), encompasses most of Rincon Hill, extending in the southwest to the tidal slough and marshlands of Mission Bay. Three blocks on the northeastern side were either totally, or partially, in the shallow waters of Yerba Buena Cove. Within the project area, the cove was only 1 to 2 feet deep at mean low tide, and supported abundant marine life. At higher tides, the cove could accommodate mid-size to large sailing vessels. As a result, ships that were abandoned in the cove could be left stranded, where they might remain to be used later as convenient storage ships, or to be broken up and scavenged for their fastenings. By 1852, Yerba Buena Cove was crowded with ships that had brought gold seekers from all over the world, and had then been deserted by their crews. This derelict fleet can be seen in Plates 2.3a through 2.3d.

The earliest daguerreotypes of the cove and the project area date to early 1851, by which time the natural site had been dramatically altered in its appearance by the rapidly growing city. Nevertheless, these first visual sources give useful information about how the natural site was being changed. Views of Rincon Hill, such as Plate 2.5, show its northern face, especially in project Blocks 3 and 4, to be sandy and largely denuded of trees and shrubs. Crossing Blocks 3 and 4, the original shoreline (see Map 2.1) had already been extended by the beginnings of filling. Behind the original beach, a steep sandbank represented the beginnings of the dunes that extended west between the lines of Market and Folsom streets. Some of these sandhills can be seen in Plate 2.8, the Otis view dating from 1855; by then they were being cut down rapidly to make room for the expanding city, and to fill Yerba Buena Cove.

On the 1853 chart, the beginning of bay filling is shown on project Blocks 3 and 4, curving inward to meet the line of Fremont Street, below Howard, and extending over to Beale; the original shoreline is shown on Map 2.2 as a dotted line landwards to the 1852 shore where filling has taken place. A comparison of the 1848 and 1852 shorelines shows that, in the intervening Gold Rush years, the part of Block 4 that had been part of the bay had been filled, and considerable filling had taken place on Block 3. This stretch of shoreline was called "Happy Valley." William Heath Davis referred to this area as a popular picnic place to celebrate the Fourth of July. He also describes "a large sandhill standing in the vicinity of what is now Fremont Street between Howard and Folsom, and between that place and the bay at low tide was a space of about twenty feet, permitting passage along the shore to Rincon Point" (Davis 1889:16). This sandhill is seen repeatedly in daguerreotypes made in the 1850s. See Plate 2.3a for the clearest image made in 1852 or 1853.

Rincon Hill is shown on Map 2.4, the 1857/59 U. S. Coast Survey Chart, as 120 feet high at its summit. On the 1852/53 chart (Map 2.1), scattered trees appear on Blocks 5 and 6, but the area is not as thickly wooded as Davis recalled it being in 1839. The need for firewood in 1849-50, when Happy Valley was occupied by several thousand gold seekers camping in tents, would account for the scrubby look of the landscape seen in daguerreotypes taken in the 1850s.

Underground springs of water account for the original growth of low evergreen oaks. Gold seekers camping on the shoreline and between the sandhills dug only a few feet down for fresh water. Beginning in the 1850s, houses on Rincon Hill and Happy Valley used wells to tap into the water for their household use and gardens.

Technology of Filling Yerba Buena Cove

Among the most striking features shown on the 1852/53 Coast Survey Chart (Map 2.1) are the 60-foot sandhills that cross Blocks 4 and 5 and occupy the alignment of Howard Street. Long ridges of dark, dense sand appear in early views, demonstrating that as late as 1856 the ridges were still there, although somewhat diminished. When the need to turn Yerba Buena Cove into valuable waterfront real estate became apparent, these sandhills were cut down and dumped into the cove. In the early 1850s, the dumping was accomplished with horses and wagons, as can be clearly seen in the woodcut in Plate 2.7.

A technology quickly developed to hurry up this cutting and filling process. The "steam paddy" used a combination of a giant steam shovel and flat cars running on temporary rail tracks. James Cunningham, and later, David Hewes, operated the steam paddy. Contractor Hewes recalls:

I commenced the work of grading Market Street at the corner of Third and Market, where a hill was nearly as high as the present Call Building, in the fall of 1858. I also proceeded by the same plan to fill the water lots on the south side of Market Street from Fremont to Steuart, which was the east line of the Bay south of Market [Wheelan 1928:15].

The steam paddy was used mainly to fill the part of Yerba Buena Cove that lay south of Market, since the area north of Market was already built-up by 1851. It is of direct relevance to project Blocks 1-4, and may have been used to fill Block 10 as well. Previously, such work had been performed by Irish immigrants--hence the term "steam paddy"; but in California the high wages of common laborers made the substitution of mechanical power especially attractive. In an age that marvelled at the new technology of the steam engine, the steam paddy attracted the attention of contemporary newspapers:

This interesting piece of machinery is now in the full tide of successful operation on First Street opposite the store of Endicott, Greene & Oakes. The superintendent of the animal, Mr. Haff, has taken a contract for excavating and grading certain lots on the south side of the street [Block 5] and for filling up the lots on the north side [Block 4].

To this end, a suitable railway has been constructed along the edge of the beach as far as Market Street, furnished with large dirt cars which are drawn by horses, as locomotives have not yet arrived for this capacity.

The engine is 20 horse power and the machine is said to be capable of excavating from a sand bank 1,000 cubic yards of earth a day. . . . The sight is well worth seeing, and we advise all persons who do not believe that some things can be done as well as others, to walk down there and witness the ceremony of removing sandhills [Picayune, April 16, 1851].

The progress of fill by 1857/59 is shown on the next published U. S. Coast Survey Chart (Map 2.5, enlargement of the project area). By then, Block 4 had been completely filled, although the dots in the line of Fremont Street represent "recent/incomplete fill." Block 3 is shown with its northern section still part of the waters of the shrinking Yerba Buena Cove; the southwestern half of Block 3 is shown with recent or incomplete fill. Only two small structures are associated with the beginning of the long finger wharf that made up Beale Street north of Folsom. Fill reaches out from Folsom Street to encompass the southern third of Block 2.

Even in the early 1850s, the amount of sand that was dumped into Yerba Buena Cove was enormous by the standards of the times. Everyone was in a hurry, and level building lots were scarce. Seemingly enormous tasks, such as levelling the hills to fill up the water lots, were accomplished so quickly that the statistics astonish the thoughtful reader today. Guesses as to the amount of levelling and filling that took place vary. Dow comments:

There is no official figure on the amount of fill dumped into Yerba Buena Cove. However, various estimates have been made. Hittell assumed that with a given area of 3,000 acres nine feet above or below the original surface, a transfer of twenty-one million cubic yards of fill was necessary, while Bancroft, calculating from the same assumption, arrived at twenty-two million cubic yards of fill. The San Francisco City Engineer, in his report of 1854, estimated fifteen and one-half million cubic yards of fill would be required to fill Yerba Buena Cove between the shore and the established waterfront line of the city. He based his calculations on the assumption that an average of twenty-one feet of fill would be needed to completely fill the cove. All of these estimates may be conservative, for when the city sold some of its property in Yerba Buena Cove in 1853, it was covered by twenty-five feet of water at low tide. This meant that thirty-five cubic feet of fill was required to bring each square foot of property up to city grade [1973:47-48].

The long rectangular strips of fill that make up most of Beale and Main streets on the 1857/59 Coast Survey prove to be wharves on pilings laid out in strict observance of public street property. These long causeways (blocks here are 550.555 feet from north to south) frequently supported small structures, as can be clearly seen in the Otis drawing of 1855, Plate 2.8. The same configuration of wharves persists in 1856, as can be seen in the Fardon views in Plates 3.1 and 3.2.

Map 2.5 shows the filling progressing south on Block 1 from Mission Street; in this instance, Ship C is indicated by the ship-shaped outline on Project Block 1, near Mission Street, close to Beale Street. By 1859 Steuart Street had become the wharf that defined the eastern limits of Yerba Buena Cove, from Market to Folsom Street. Plate 3.2 shows the shipping lined up at the Steuart Street lumber wharves in 1856. An 1865 commercial map put out by H.L. Bancroft shows the persistence of lumber wharves along Steuart Street. Fill encroached upon the waters of Yerba Buena Cove from the north and from the west. At same time, new industrial activity supplanted Yerba Buena Cove with Tar Flat.

Filling in Tar Flat, 1854-1870

On the Coast Survey Chart of 1857/59 (Map 2.4), the San Francisco Gas Company Works appears just north of Block 4, on the north side of Howard Street, where the circle of its large gas holder is shown. By this date the gas works had been extended along Howard and across Fremont Street onto the square of filled land, and was dumping coal tar effluent into the tidal basin that made up much of Blocks 1, 2, and 3.

The San Francisco Gas Company Works was built by James Donahue in late 1853 and came into operation beginning in early 1854; the plant was expanded at different times beginning in the mid-1850s. Donahue had secured the city franchise to light the public streets with gas distilled from coal. The resulting coal tar residue was discharged into the shallows of Yerba Buena Cove through a pipe. The smell of the coal tar that built up in the mudflats was distinctive and offensive. So powerful were the fumes that it became a widely held folk medicine practice to bring young children afflicted with whooping cough to Tar Flat to inhale the pungent vapors. Visible evidence of coal tar stayed on the clothing of South of Market children who could not resist poking sticks into puddles of tar. Swimmers off Beale and Bryant street wharves found globs of tar on their skin. Newly painted signs turned dark and unreadable within weeks (South of Market Journal 1926-1933). All of these commonly recollected phenomena combined to give the descriptive name of Tar Flat to the 12-block basin with its limited tidal action.

On SF-480, project Blocks 1, 2, and 3 were directly affected by their geographical beginnings in the waters of Yerba Buena Cove and, later, by their 15- to 20-year period of gradual filling in the most industrialized section of the city at that time.

A clear idea of the method and depth of the filling of Tar Flat is shown in a small woodcut dated December of 1854 (Plate 2.7). The height of the fill along Mission Street exceeds that of the masts of small sailboats. The scale of the boats, as well as that of the horses and wagons dumping fill on Beale near Howard, suggests that the water level was at least 10 feet below the fill level in this 1854 view. The line of the fill in this early woodcut duplicates the rectangular progression of fill shown on the 1857/59 Coast Survey.

As late as 1864, an accurate birdseye view by Gifford (Plate 3.3) shows that filling in Tar Flat had not progressed much since the surveying of the 1857/59 Coast Survey Chart. Although Main and Beale streets are shown as "open streets" in the San Francisco Municipal Reports of that date, Main Street was still an open wharf running from Mission to Folsom, and Beale was an incomplete dike useful mainly for foot traffic. The 1869 U.S. Coast Survey Chart is largely schematic, but it does indicate with dots that four blocks between Main and Steuart were recently or partially filled; by 1869, the construction of the Risdon Ironworks on Block 2 marked the completion of the filling of the project blocks in Tar Flat. But many incompletely filled pockets remained, where individual landowners had no reason to fill their properties up to city grade. An 1872 Muybridge photographic panorama (Plate 3.4) shows the block bounded by Main and Spear, Folsom and Harrison, to contain a large coal yard that is planked with wood (indicating it is still on pilings). On the 1884 U.S. Coast Survey the waterfront of Tar Flat is shown virtually unchanged since their 1869 version.

The process of filling in Yerba Buena Cove as a whole went on from the 1850s until the seawall was built, section by section (mostly from north to south), from 1882 through 1929. Even after the new seawall was completed and streets were filled in, many of the seawall lots remained open ponds subject to casual filling from passing wagons and anyone looking for a place to get rid of debris. As late as 1910-1912, Captain Fred Klebingat witnessed the casual filling of the waterfront south of Folsom Street:

The fill behind the seawall was just like any dump. I was there when they filled in behind the seawall from Folsom to Second Street. From the land side, they dumped rubbish from buildings, pulverized bricks and old concrete. Horse manure and dead cats.

Most of it was city rubbish, not too much ballast in San Francisco. Ballast is something worthless--except it costs something to load. Could be shingle from the beach at Callao. Could be boulders from Tahiti, called "Fatoua yams." Anything that's heavy, useless, and cheap.

I saw the five-masted schooner W.H. Marston when she was waterlogged at Folsom Street. They dumped her cargo of hay bales and cement sacks behind the seawall for fill [quoted in Olmsted et al. 1977:128].

Physical Changes on Rincon Hill

Rincon Hill has been substantially lowered from its original highest elevation, but different locations on the hill have been cut down by widely varying amounts, and many areas are near their original grades. The cutting process took place in three stages: first, grades of major east-west streets were established in the 1850s, leaving parts of Blocks 6 and 7 substantially higher than the east-west streets that traversed them; second, the Second Street Cut was accomplished in 1869 and 1870, bringing Second Street to its present grade and dividing the hill into two halves separated by a 70- to 80-foot-deep trench; third, the construction of the approaches to the Bay Bridge in the 1930s involved cutting on Blocks 6, 7, and 9, while much of the rock waste was dumped onto Block 8.

Unlike the filling of Tar Flat, the earlier stages of the grading of Rincon Hill are not well-documented. The majority of the known views have been reproduced in this report. An idea of the extent of cutting along Harrison and Bryant streets may be obtained by noting the substantial retaining walls along much of those streets on Blocks 6 and 7 in 19th-century views. Substantial written documentation exists concerning the Second Street Cut, but the only known photographic view that clearly shows the cut in relation to the preexisting cultural landscape is reproduced as Plate 3.13. A unique view of the effects of the Second Street Cut on the form of Rincon Hill is reproduced as Plate 3.14, taken in 1906 after the destruction of buildings that had previously obscured the contours of the landscape.

Following the completion of the Second Street Cut, the contours of Rincon Hill remained mostly unaltered until the construction of the Bay Bridge in the 1930s. Photographs taken circa 1920 document every street on the hill and show the survival of features--retaining walls from the 1860s and original cobble-stone streets--that confirm the continuity of the underlying topography. Construction of the approaches of the Bay Bridge and its later accourtements, including the ramps leading to the Transbay Terminal and SF-480, involved a new phase of cutting activity. Apart from cutting on Blocks 5, 6, 7, and 9 to accommodate the grades of the bridge approach viaducts, city streets were extensively reworked.



Map 3.1: Topographic Changes, Approximate Areas of Cut and Fill - Block 1 (Based on U.S. Coast Survey 1852/53 and 1857/59)

3.1 BLOCK ONE: Bounded by Beale & Main, Mission & Howard Streets

3.1.1 Summary

Block 1 occupies what was once part of Yerba Buena Cove; filling began in the early 1850s but was not complete until the late 1860s. Although there were some residents of Block 1 listed in census and directory sources, they were mostly workers in Block 1 industries who lacked other housing. From the beginning, Block 1 was developed for industry, with the predominant type of industry changing in conjunction with the development of the greater Tar Flat district. At first, there were boat-building yards and blacksmiths; and later foundries, machine shops, planing and tool works. Historical sources contain a passing mention of a major fire on Beale Street in 1881, which destroyed several businesses; since most of these rapidly rebuilt, directory analysis has been unable to shed any further light on this event. After the 1906 fire, the block was rebuilt to house similar metal-working industries; gradually, many of these were replaced by warehouses and auto garages, beginning in the 1920s. Unlike Blocks 2, 3, and 4, each of which was dominated by one or two large industries, enterprises on Block 1 tended to be small, and were housed in small loft buildings and simple sheds.

The most significant historical feature on Block 1 is a storeship located near the corner of Beale and Mission; for research purposes, it has been designated Storeship C in this report. Storeship C appears in most early views of Tar Flat, and is especially prominent in the 1856 Fardon view, reproduced as Plate 3.2. It is also shown as a ship-shaped symbol on Map 2.4, the 1857/59 Coast Survey, and at the far left of Plate 2.7, an 1854 view. The vessel was still in place in 1864, when the Gifford view was drawn (Plate 3.3), showing the ship in much the same condition as in earlier views. Its subsequent fate is unknown; any part of it remaining above ground had disappeared by the date of the surveying of the 1887 Sanborn Map. At this time, Ship C is not expected to be affected by the construction of SF-480.

3.1.2 Natural Site

Block 1 was originally entirely submerged under the waters of Yerba Buena Cove to a depth of one foot at mean low tide, as can be seen on Map 2.1, the 1852/53 Coast Survey. Filling of Block 1 began in the early 1850s and was completed circa 1869-1870.

By December of 1854, filling was progressing southwards from the north end of the block, as seen on Plate 2.6: Mission Street had been filled as far east as Main, and Beale Street extended as a dike halfway towards Howard. Main Street had been built as a double wharf between Folsom and Mission, no later than 1854. As the 1857/59 Coast Survey Chart shows (Map 2.5), the double wharf of Main Street was built on the privately owned water lots flanking the actual street reservation: an innovation designed to allow for easy filling of the street proper, though in fact the actual street would not be filled in until after 1867.

A comparison of the 1857/59 Coast Survey Chart with views drawn in 1854 shows that after an initial wave of filling during the years 1852-54 (concomitant with a speculative boom in property values) there was little extension of fill during the subsequent real estate bust in 1855-1859. The wagons shown in Plate 2.6, busily extending Beale Street in 1854 in anticipation of the rapid development of the adjacent water lots, would soon be diverted to other tasks; Beale Street would remain uncompleted for almost another decade, while the filling of Howard Street between Beale and Main was not even begun until after 1864.

In Plate 3.3, Gifford's 1864 view, Block 1 appears to be still mostly a mudflat except for some structures near the corner of Mission and Beale; Storeship C was still the most prominent feature of Block 1 in 1864.

After 1864, with the rapid development of metal-working industries to serve the Comstock mining boom, the filling of the block proceeded more rapidly, and the construction of the Risdon Ironworks on Block 2 in 1868-1869 marked the completion of the conversion of Block 1 to industrial sites.

3.1.3 History of Block 1

Early Industrial Development, 1854-1860

Notwithstanding the slow progress of fill on Block 1, industrial development was well underway by 1854, with the establishment of several small blacksmith shops near the corner of Mission and Beale streets; a watercolor view of that corner dated 1854 shows one- and two-story structures solidly occupying the corner (Society of California Pioneers). Plate 2.7, also dated 1854, shows that virtually all of the remainder of Block 1 was a mudflat.

By the middle to late-1850s, Beale Street was the scene of extensive boat-building and boat repair operations, as can be discerned from the Fardon view, Plate 3.2. Boat builders had to be located along the shore, and at that time Beale Street provided access to water, while the Main

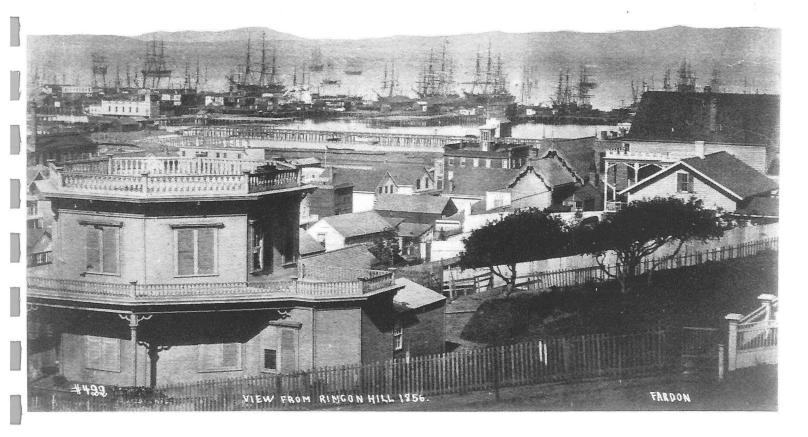


Plate 3.1: View From Second Street on Rincon Hill, Looking Over Tar Flat, 1856 . . . Fardon made this photograph from Second Street, at a 60-foot rise, on a line with Essex Place. By 1856 Steuart Street formed a continuous row of wharves that marked the limits of the city waterfront south of Market. Yerba Buena Cove had been cleared of all but a few storage ships--Ship C can be dimly seen in the upper left corner at Mission between the Main and Beale wharves. A number of the structures from the Otis view can be located: Rincon House with its the cupola (building #14) marks First and Folsom. Ship A now sports a false front and is clearly seen facing the Main Street Wharf.

The octagon house in the foreground was located on Block 6, at #4 Second Street: it narrowly escaped the 1869 Second Street cut, teetering near a precipitous drop-off until the 1906 fire. More than an architectural fancy, the specialized dimensions and angles of rooms in octagon houses were believed to exert profoundly healthy influences upon their inhabitants. It was an age in which enlightened citizens who could afford to experimented with ways of living designed to enhance the quality of life and to outwit the medical profession.

Cyrus Palmer built this octagon house when he headed the Pacific Foundry, and later, the Golden State Foundry. He was a San Francisco supervisor in the 1860s. His son, Wales Palmer, lived in a Gold Rush house imported from the East in sections and put back together on Essex Street. Still shown on the 1887 Sanborn Map, both homes remained San Francisco Gold Rush landmark houses until the 1906 fire.

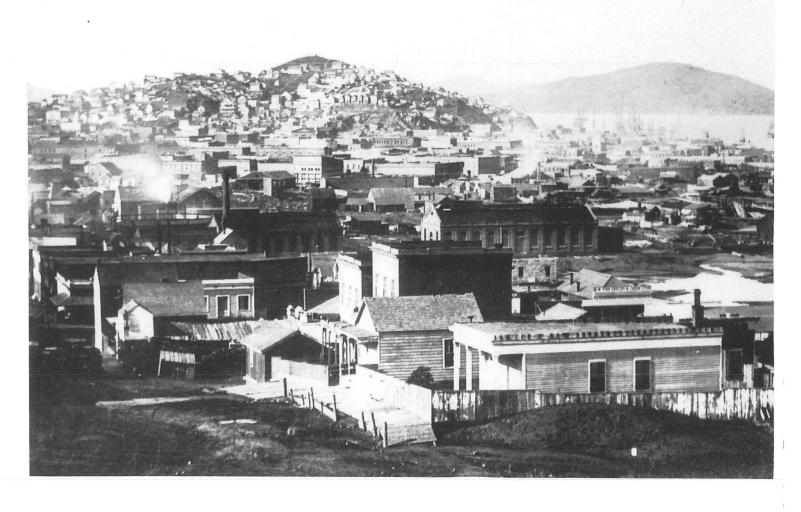


Plate 3.2: Looking North from First and Harrison, 1856... A closer look at Tar Flat is gained by the photographer standing on a 40-foot rise at the northeast corner of First and Harrison. Peter Donahue's San Francisco Gas Company Works is the imposing building that occupied two blocks on Howard Street. The giant gas holder smokestack is just visible on the left. He has added a second building along Howard from Fremont, half-way to Beale. The Coast Survey Map lags behind actual construction, showing the site as fenced fill.

On Block 1, Ship C (on the facing page, clearly delineated on the Coast Survey Chart with a ship symbol) lies just west of a small one-story building, built on pilings, with a pitched roof. Close at hand are a number of what appear to be marine ways for hauling out ships for repair or building. City directory information places several shipwrights, boat builders, ship joiners, and carpenters at "Beale near Mission" or "Main near Mission" from 1861-65. From this view, it would appear that they were at work on Block 1 as early as 1856, when San Francisco's annual city directories were just getting started and routinely ignored south of Market activity.

Though obscured by the houses in the foreground, Block 2 presented a similar aspect, except that only a small area along Folsom Street had any development at all. As can be seen, the Main Street Wharf was an open structure that allowed tidal action. The more substantial wharves along Steuart Street were extensive, serving as the foundation for numerous structures whose refuse could be conveniently dumped in the bay.

In the right foreground, the steeply peaked house was built by banker William Techumseh Sherman, who left San Francisco in 1857, weary and ill after wrestling with the 1855 city-wide financial and real estate depression. Despairing of banking as a "mercenary business," he gave up investments for the army.

In the detail on the opposite page from the 1857/59 Coast Survey Map, information lags behind the expansion of the gas works. Locate the round gas holder on Howard near First: what is shown as fenced fill was already the second building extending east of Fremont Street.





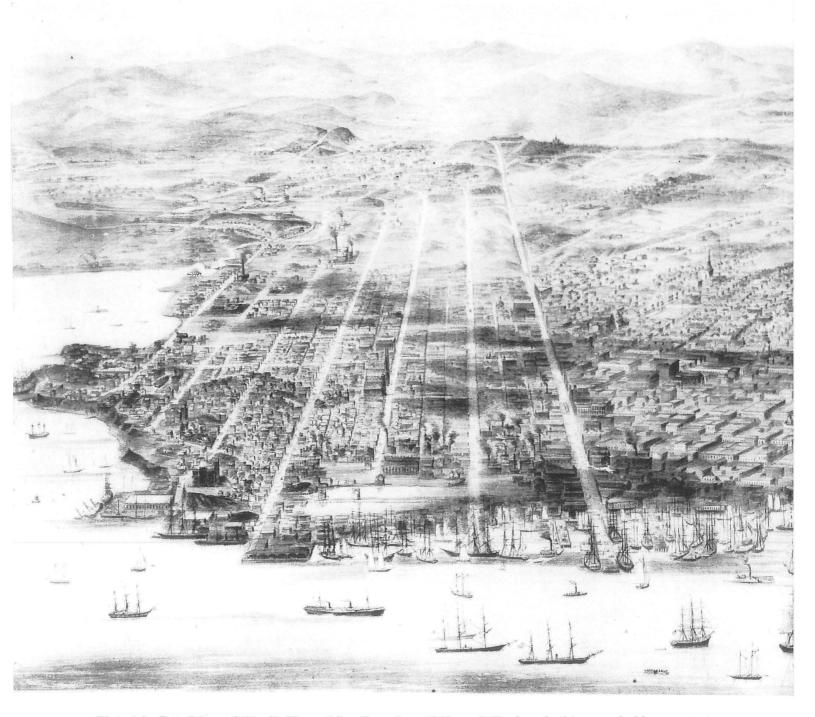


Plate 3.3: Detail from Gifford's View of San Francisco, 1864... Gifford made this remarkably correct view of San Francisco hypothetically, as if from a balloon, but it is very accurate, and individual buildings are carefully delineated. This detail includes the entire SF-480 Project area. Market Street is the wide street to the right. The storeship (Ship C) that appeared in earlier views is clearly shown on Block 1. Blocks 1 and 2 are still mostly unfilled mudflats with little industrial activity, and Main Street is still shown as a wharf. The southern part of Block 2 shows some structures and development, and a possible coal yard at its southwest corner. Block 3 remains part mudflat and part fill.

The San Francisco Gas Company Works are clearly visible on Howard Street, just across from Blocks 3 and 4, but the Selby Shot Tower would not be in place until early 1865. Smoke billows up from the First Street foundries. Rincon Hill is prominent and appears completely developed with residences. In the distance, most of Block 10 appears to remain part of Mission Bay's marsh and mudflat.

Most important, this 1864 view confirms our understanding that Tar Flat was still not entirely filled-more than a decade after initial filling began.

Courtesy of the Bancroft Library

Street wharf did not impede the passage of small craft. These boatyards were gradually converted into blacksmith, wagon, and carpentry operations, because the filling along Main Street removed their access to the bay. Along both Beale and Main, these small industries were concentrated at the north end of the block, and did not extend very far south past Mission until after 1860.

The most significant landmark on Block 1 prior to the mid-1860s was Ship C, located near the corner of Mission and Beale streets. Ship C was roofed over and used as a storeship until at least 1864.

Because the early industries on Block 1 were mostly built on piles over lots that were only gradually filled in, there is a potential for cultural resources at the original bay bottom, and mixed in with subsequent fill.

The portion of the Main Street wharf located on Block 1 is probably still intact, since it would have been a pointless expense to remove the pilings when the street was filled in the late 1860s. A line of piles from the wharf could be expected near the line of the sidewalk, with another parallel line running approximately 40 feet west of Main.

Industrial Development, 1860-1906

Sanborn maps and business directories reveal that, more than any other block in San Francisco, Block 1 became the concentrated focus of small foundries and machine shops. Some of these industries operated out of frame or metal-clad sheds built on 25-foot-wide lots, while others shared larger and more substantial brick structures. This concentration of smaller metal-working shops reached its height during the period from the 1880s to 1906. Tracing the chronology of individual industries on Block 1 presents a very complex picture, with frequent changes in ownership and relocation of the same enterprise on the same block.

The development of Block 1 began in the vicinity of the corner of Beale and Mission streets, the first part of the block to be filled. Directories from the early 1860s do not give precise street addresses, but three boat-building or ship repair yards are listed at "Beale near Mission"; these are almost certainly on Block 1, since its Beale Street frontage at the time had direct access to the bay. One of these is shown in the 1861 directory to belong to A. Johnson, who listed himself as "shipbuilder"; another was run by Andrew Grass, and a third by Adinijah Parsons, the only one of the three to be in operation in 1865. Another boat-building operation was located at the corner of Main and Mission, run by Albert M. Glidden from 1863-1865. After the mid-1860s, no boat-building operations were listed on Block 1, indicating that filling had progressed far enough to deprive the block of practical water access. Instead, we see the appearance of several blacksmith shops and carriage makers located on the "east side of Beale near Mission," one

operated by Charles Steinweg, another by Andrew W. Burnham, and a third by John Farren in conjunction with a saloon, apparently sharing the same premises.

John Farren's blacksmith shop and saloon, in operation at 121 Beale from 1869 to 1887, marked the beginning of a long and successful political career. Farren was elected to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in 1877, and by 1890 lived in a substantial house at the corner of Harrison and First on Block 6; he had died by 1900. His partner in the blacksmith shop was James Gallagher, who by 1875 is listed as a "house smith" and a machinist and iron door and safe maker, at 153 Beale, midway between Mission and Howard; after making his fortune, Gallagher lived in a large house on Block 8.

Farren's saloon was the second that we have a record of on Block 1; another had been operated by L. Fretillaire as early as 1862; it was located at 119 Beale, and may have been later acquired by Farren.

The earliest industry that can be located by street address is an engine-building and blacksmith shop run by John Lochhead, located at 111 Beale Street from 1862 through 1870. Subsequently, Lochhead's works occupied a one-story frame structure through the 1870s.

Next door to the Lochhead engine works, at 113-117 Beale, was the Cyclops Engine Works, in operation from 1872 to 1906:

The Cyclops Engine and Machine works, Martial Hainque proprietor, 115-117 Beale Street, [was] founded in 1869 by Tait and Hainque. Hainque became sole proprietor in 1888. He engages in the manufacture and repair of all kinds of machinery, and is sole manufacturer of the patent wood branding and printing press; particular attention is given to repairing, the facilities for which are ample and complete. 35 skillful and efficient mechanics are required, and the pay roll average from 1800-2000 dollars per month. The large three-story building occupied at numbers 115-117 Beale Street was erected in 1877 on the site of the old wooden shop (then occupied by the firm of Tait and Hainque), the first having bought the ground for the purpose. . . . Trade is carried on all over the coast [Anonymous 1889:187].

As the 1887 Sanborn Map shows, the foundry with its cupola furnace was on the ground floor, with the machine shop above and a pattern loft on the third floor. Before the building was built, Bruns & Company, dealers in pig iron, were also listed at 117 Beale. By 1905, the premises were shared with the North Machine Company, which probably occupied one of the upper floors, and also with Schrader's Ironworks, which specialized in architectural iron founding, such as fences, railings, elevator cages, and gates; the Schrader works occupied at least part of the ground floor. With the intense concentration of metal-working industries on Block 1, multi-story buildings like the Cyclops Engine Works frequently shared scarce working space even with competitors.

Immediately to the south of the Cyclops Engine Works, the Birch, Argall & Company Elevator Works was established in 1878, continuing in operation until the 1906 fire. Elevators had come into use in San Francisco in the 1870s, and were custom-made for the buildings which they were to occupy; by 1906 the elevator manufacture and repair business for the city was largely concentrated on Block 1. William Birch not only made elevators, but also did general machinist work, and made a specialty of manufacturing sawmill machinery.

Birch, Argall & Company shared the same large, one-story frame building with the California Machine Works, at various times known as the California Bolt Works, or the California Bolt & Nut Works. This company continued in operation on a different site nearby until the 1940s, as the Payne Bolt Works. In contrast to most of the foundries in the project area, the bolt works contained specialized machinery for turning out bolts, nuts, washers, and many other small parts used in larger machinery. To complete the tenants of 119 Beale, John Petty had a blacksmith shop there in the 1880s, succeeded by James Manson in the early years of this century; the 1887 and 1899 Sanborn Maps show that the blacksmith shop occupied the rear of the building, behind the furnaces used to melt the metals used in the bolt works.

John Farren's Blacksmith & Carriage Works moved to 121 Beale Street from its previous site near Mission in 1869. It continued to occupy a one-story frame structure with an open rear yard until 1887, after which the building was used for a woodworking shop in the 1890s, and finally housed William Jenkins' Machine Shop immediately prior to the 1906 fire.

The lot at 123-125 Beale was first occupied by William Lynch's Stove Works in 1871-72; Lynch manufactured heat reflectors for stoves out of sheet metal. By 1873, the site was the address of F. I. Curry, who made and repaired boilers for marine engines, mines, lumber operators, and brewers. Curry, with his San Francisco Boiler Works, was one of several successful mid-sized boiler makers in the project area:

Curry, formerly foreman of the Vulcan Ironworks, entered business as proprietor of the San Francisco Boiler Works on the 1st of May, 1871. Mr. Curry at the present time gives employment to about eighty men, and has enough work now on hand to employ his works until next February. Among other orders lately received is a boiler for the steamer *Pelican*. This boiler will be one of the largest, if not the largest, ever built on the Pacific Coast. The business of the San Francisco Boiler Works exceeds \$20,000 per month; the fortnightly pay roll averaging \$1,800.

Here are done all the repairs for the local breweries, distilleries and flour mills, with the exception of one.

Mr. Curry's customers include the Black Diamond and Bellingham Bay coal mines, besides the principal English mining companies which are operating in California and Nevada.

The work executed at this establishment includes high and low pressure boilers of all descriptions. Sheet iron work of every description is done at the shortest notice. . . . Mr. Curry is the sole manufacturer of the celebrated spiral boiler, which is so well and favorably known [Anonymous 1889:183].

The site of Curry's boiler-making works was later occupied by Bigelow, Sims & Morris Iron Door Works. This enterprise was established by 1878 by John R. Sims, who constructed a large three-story masonry building where he manufactured iron fire shutters for brick commercial buildings until 1886, together with safes and strongrooms. The California Bellows Manufactory occupied the second floor of the building, while pattern makers and machinists used the third floor at different times in the 1880s and 1890s.

In 1886-1887, the Bigelow, Sims & Morris firm was renamed (or acquired by) the Western Ironworks, while continuing to specialize in architectural iron work and bank vaults. It continued in operation in expanded premises until well after 1906.

At 127 Beale Street, James R. Smedberg had set up in business in 1878 as an engineer and contractor, specializing in the design and construction of gas works; by the 1880s the address had been taken over by the Thompson Brothers' Eureka Foundry, with a two-story structure on Beale Street used for pattern storage, and a large rear yard with a core oven located in a second two-story structure at the rear of the lot. The Eureka Foundry was first established by Thomas and Thornton Thompson in 1868 at 129-131 Beale Street, occupying a two-story building, probably of frame construction, with an open flask yard in its center for storing molds. The foundry undertook general iron founding, but particularly advertised iron shutters and doors. It remained in operation up to 1906 on the 127-129 Beale Street premises:

The Eureka Foundry was established by Thomas and Thornton Thompson brothers in 1868 on the site of its present location, at 129 and 131 Beale Street, and was owned and conducted under the same proprietorship until the death of Thornton Thompson in March, 1886, since which Thomas Thompson has had sole management. The Eureka Foundry uses from 500 to 600 tons of pig and scrap iron per annum, which is manufactured into castings of all kinds, largely order work. This foundry has for many years done an extensive business in casting for gas works, and now has the lead in that line of work in San Francisco. The Eureka also has a large run of custom work for various machine shops of the city, some of whom have been its regular patrons for twenty years. Mr. Thompson being an expert molder with forty five years experience, gives his personal attention to the business, and under his efficient management the Eureka Foundry has earned a proud reputation for first class work, and is doing a prosperous business. It now employs thirty skilled men, and has the capacity for making every size and style of casting. [Anonymous 1904, 1:693]

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Map 3.2: Block 1, 1887 Sanborn Map, Showing Proposed and Existing Footings

STREET

HOWARD

Adjacent to the Eureka Foundry and extending to Howard Street through the interior of the block, the Columbia Foundry and the Atlas Ironworks co-occupied an L-shaped site excluding the corner of Beale and Howard, and were in operation from circa 1869 until 1906. The Columbia Foundry was begun by Reese Llewellyn, and specialized in manufacturing cast-iron facades for buildings and general machinery castings. Reese Llewellyn is listed in the 1886 directory as living near Buena Vista Park, but his son, Reese Llewellyn, Jr., is listed as working as a molder at his father's foundry and living at 8 Essex Street, on Block 6, as is a second son, William Llewellyn.

At 147 Beale, in a three-story masonry structure, the California Perforating Screen Company manufactured specialized screens for quartz and flour mills, all types of perforated metal, and piano strings.

Located next to the Columbia Foundry on Howard Street, and occupying the southeast corner of Block 1, the National Ironworks made a specialty of boiler and engine manufacturing, producing a number of small railway locomotives and donkey engines for logging. The National Ironworks, established circa 1880 by Marchutz and Cantrell, occupied the site until 1906; previously, the corner had been the site of a planing mill beginning in the late 1860s. Among the surviving artifacts of the National Iron Works is a spool donkey engine with back spool, which is now restored as part of the Roots of Motive Power museum at Willits, California; and two small logging railway engines restored to operating condition at Humboldt State Park.

The proprietors of the National Ironworks, Leon C. Marchutz and Thomas G. Cantrell, like the owners of many other ironworks in Tar Flat, lived out in the Western Addition, the former on Eddy Street, the latter on Larkin. Edwin B. Cantrell is shown in 1886 as living with his father, Thomas; by 1896 he is working as a foreman at the foundry, while continuing to dwell in his father's house.

Moving north along Main Street, the eastern half of Block 1 was developed somewhat later than the Beale Street frontage, and with a different industrial pattern. Apart from the National Ironworks at the corner of Howard, most of the street frontage was occupied by planing mills and woodworking establishments, beginning with Day, Huber, & Craker's Sash and Door, immediately next to the National Ironworks, which received mechanical power from an engine in the ironworks. In the early 1890s, the National Ironworks expanded into this space, and continued to occupy the full corner lot up to 1906.

Next door to Day, Huber, & Craker, a large three-story masonry building, constructed in the early 1880s at 130-136 Main Street, housed a number of different manufactories, including machine shops on its ground floor, with planing mills, shoe-makers, and leather-working shops above. The main tenant of this structure was the Joseph Wagner Manufacturing Company:

The Joseph Wagner Manufacturing Company, whose works are located at numbers 134 and 136 Main Street, in San Francisco, is one of the largest manufacturers of flour mills and milling machinery in the United States, and the only one in this line existing on the Pacific Coast.

The original founder of the business of this company was Charles F. Travis, about twenty five years ago. Travis was soon joined as a partner by Joseph Wagner, who afterward became the sole proprietor. While the business was in a prosperous condition, the entire plant was destroyed by fire, involving a heavy loss, but a new building was speedily erected and equipped with the best machinery and appliances for carrying on the business of making machinery for and building flour, feed, and meal mills.

The company is constantly supplying mills to different localities in California and other American states and territories on the Pacific Coast, as well as Mexico, Central and South America, British Columbia, Japan, China, Siberia, Australia, and New Zealand, varying in capacity from 2500 to as low as 25 barrels daily.

Among the specialties manufactured by this company are the Wagner Wheat Roller Mills, and Wagner Feed Rolling Mills, and Wagner Sliding Scalpers, Wagner Flour Dressers, Wagner Centrifugal Reels, Wagner Quartz Purifiers, and a full line of all classes of machinery required to manufacture flour, feed, and meals. The factory gives employment to an average of one hundred men [Anonymous 1904:154].

The same site was later occupied by the Ohmen Engine Works, in the years immediately before the 1906 fire. As a contemporary business reference work explained, the Ohmen Engine Works was:

A firm which has done much to perfect American machinery, . . . whose productions are among the latest and best and whose quarter century of business operation has been devoted to the perfection of high grade steam engines for general power purposes. Modern steam engineering practice demands an engine capable of sustained operation at high speed, possessing the utmost refinement in the mater of regulation and developing the maximum horsepower with minimum weight and floor space.

For many years the Ohmen Engine Works have devoted themselves to the most careful design and development of an extensive line of simple, compact, high grade engines to fill these requirements. This type of engine has found great favor for direct connecting to centrifugal pumps, dynamos and blowers. These engines are built with an open frame and controlled by a shaft governor and oiled automatically.

This is but one of the several types of engines which are manufactured by this company. They build engines up to 150 horse power capacity, and of types herein mentioned to suit different classes of work. Horizontal tandem compound engines, vertical high speed balanced engines, either belted or direct connected, electric

light generating sets, vertical slide valve engines with throttling governors, automatic cut off engines, horizontal and vertical; small marine launch engines and hoists, and special engines, built on order and to plans [Anonymous 1904:170].

Ohmen Engine was run by William H. Ohmen, who lived out in the Mission District at 1312 Harrison; although Ohmen had at least one son who was a machinist, his son did not work for his father's firm. In the 1905 directory, the Ohmen Engine Works is listed under "steam engines," indicating the first inroads of internal combustion into the local economy.

Brass foundries were also located on Main Street from the mid-1870s. The most successful of these, Globe Brass & Bell, was established by Whyte and DeRome at 282 Howard Street in the early 1880s, on a site which was later incorporated into the Columbia Foundry. Globe Brass & Bell moved to 120 Main Street in the late 1880s; it moved once again to 128 Main Street in the 1890s, and was rebuilt there after the 1906 fire:

Globe Brass and Bell Foundry [was] established by Louis De Rome and Neil C. Whyte, one a San Franciscan from four years of age, the other a native son. They both grew to manhood and learned their trade in the Pacific metropolis, Mr. De Rome being the pioneer brass founder in business who learned the trade on this coast. Mr. Whyte is a practical machinist. In 1880 they entered into partnership, and without capital other than brains, energy, and mechanical skill, started the nucleus of the above foundry, in the lower floor of John Center's windmill house, on 16th Street, their entire premises being about twenty-five feet square. Their industry, energy, and skill soon placed them on the road to prosperity; and at the end of the first year they decided to move downtown, renting a small shop about thirty by forty feet at 282 Howard Street.

The rapid growth of the business necessitated several enlargements during the next two years, and at the end of that time the firm leased an L to the same building, which fronts on Beale Street at number 137. Here they continued with a steady increase of business until 1881, when the great fire which swept down Beale street, and through to the bay, opened up an opportunity for them to lease the site upon which the Globe Brass and Bell Foundry is now situated. Securing a long lease of the ground at 126-128 Main Street, the proprietors erected a substantial brick building with three stories and basement, 45 110/12 [wide] by 137 1/2 feet [long].

The front is devoted to office and machine shop, the rear to the brass and bell foundry. Possessing a thorough knowledge of the requirements of their business, they built and equipped the foundry in the best manner, and have the finest and most complete brass foundry on this coast. They are importers of phosphor bronze and ingot metals, and they manufacture all kinds of castings: copper, bronze, brass, zinc, white metal, aluminum bronze, gun metal, church and steamboat bells and gongs, brass work for cars and ships, and do a general jobbing, making a specialty of manufacturing propellers and other heavy castings.

The heaviest and most difficult bronze and brass work ever produced west of the Rocky mountains have been turned out by the Globe Foundry [Anonymous 1904, vol. 2:353].

From the late 1880s, the Joseph Roylance Brass Foundry was located nearby at 114 Main Street; it remained in operation until 1906. The Roylance Brass Foundry was already a substantial operation in 1889, despite the small premises it occupied:

This business was founded about ten years ago and has acquired a position of great influence and importance. . . . Formerly at 411 1/2 Mission Street, [it] now occupies a two-story brick structure at 112 and 114 Main Street. The ground floor contains the office, salesroom, and foundry, while the second story constitutes the brass works . . . [containing] complete equipment of all essential machinery and devices to facilitate the operation of work. About 60 skilled men are regularly employed.

This concern engages in the manufacture of plumbing, steam, and water brass goods, and castings of every description, glove valves, angle, check, patent gate, safety, and gate valves; service, steam, and hose cocks, compression work, hose pipes, coupling, and 'x' steam cocks. Fuller [hammered] work and plated goods are a specialty The trade is carried on all over the Pacific Coast and the volume is steadily increasing [Anonymous 1889:157].

Even this brief description of the Roylance Brass Foundry gives us an idea of the intensity of industrial activity on Block 1.

Paint stores were also located on Main Street at least as far back as 1875, when Griswold & Berry Coach Painting was briefly established at 110 Main Street; the site was thereafter used by John Jung's Iron Fence & Door Works for at least the next decade. Robert Mills' Stained Glass Works were located nearby at 118 Main Street in the mid-1870s; Mills specialized both in cut glass for doors and ornamental windows, and the painted glass that contemporary taste preferred for church windows. Also during the 1870s, William O'Day and later Henry W. Carson operated a paint and varnish store at 120 Main Street, in a building that had previously housed the Deacon & Bulger Machine Shop & Pump Works and would subsequently be one of the several locations of the Globe Brass & Bell Foundry.

Historic Significance of Block 1 Industries: Although none of the industries on Block 1 are of great individual importance in comparison to industries on adjoining blocks, such as the Risdon Ironworks on Block 2 or the Pioneer White Lead and Color Works on Block 3, the complexity of industrial development on Block 1 is significant in relation to the development of the industrial pattern of San Francisco during the second half of the 19th century.

Nowhere else in the city was there so great a concentration of small metal-working industries as on Block 1 and the adjacent blocks along Main and Beale streets. Just as gunsmiths were concentrated along Second Street, flour dealers along California Street, and banks along Montgomery, likewise Block 1 was the locus of machine shops in San Francisco. With changes in technology, these initially evolved out of blacksmith and carriage building works in the 1860s and 1870s, and in turn fostered the emergence of elevators works in the 1890s.

The decline of industry on Block 1 after 1906 was also a product of changing technology, as new machine and engine shops devoted exclusively to internal combustion were founded elsewhere in the city, first bypassing and then replacing the older machine shops of Block 1, which were slow to adapt to the automobile. Ironically, by the 1920s much of Block 1 was used for parking garages.

Block 1 Residents

Research on Block 1 residents has necessarily been inconclusive, since 1860 and 1870 census information often lists addresses such as "Beale near Mission" that could be on any one of four different blocks. But it is clear that, at least during the 1860s and 1870s, some Block 1 workers listed their work place as their sole address. It was not uncommon at the time for a small to medium-sized business or industry to house several of its employees on the premises, since a round-the-clock presence helped protect the business against fire or burglary. From census information, it would appear that several flats adjoined industries on the block, and one or two small houses may have been present in the 1870s, but had been removed by 1887.

Several families lived on Block 1 in 1870, including Thomas and Susan Farren. Thomas Farren was age 34, of Irish birth; he is listed as a saloon-keeper, undoubtedly in conjunction with his brother, John Farren. His wife, Susan, age 30 and also of Irish birth, kept house.

Another Block 1 family in 1870 was headed by John McLaughlin, listed in the 1869 directory as a saloon keeper, possibly at the corner of Mission and Main. John McLaughlin was age 33 in 1870, and born in Ireland; he had a personal estate of \$1000, quite substantial for the times. His wife, Anne, also born in Ireland, was age 20 and kept house. As in the case of the Farrens, no children are listed for the couple, who probably lived above or behind their saloon.

With the growth of industry on Block 1, the number of residents declined, and the practice of employee-lodgers became less and less common. After the 1906 fire, the 1910 census shows only one group of residents living on Block 1, at 224 Howard Street. Eight men, ranging in age from 25 to 42, are shown at that address; all were single, all were odd-job laborers who had been

unemployed for eight months of the previous year, and all came from Minnesota, listing Minnesota-born parents.

Industrial Development after 1906

Most of Block 1 burned in the 1906 fire, although the southeast corner site of the National Ironworks did not (Insurance Adjustors Map of the Conflagration in San Francisco, National Board of Fire Underwriters, 1906). Even on the part of the block that did burn, the brick shells of several buildings, such as Globe Brass & Bell, survived and were quickly rehabilitated to meet the immense demand that the destruction of the fire engendered. The other buildings which appear to have partially survived the fire were the three-story machine shop at 143-145 Beale Street and the three-story machine shop of the former Eureka Ironworks at 133-135 Beale. In the case of both of these masonry buildings, the 1913 Sanborn Map appears identical to the 1899 Sanborn Map, indicating a high likelihood of structural continuity.

Reconstruction on Block 1 was not immediate or complete. The 1913 Sanborn Map shows many vacant lots, especially along Main Street, and as late as the surveying of the 1929 Sanborn Map, there were still several empty spaces that were used for open air storage. Some of the same enterprises rebuilt on their pre-fire sites, but the block never again attained the intensity of small-scale industry that had characterized it in the three decades before the fire. None of the planing mills and woodworking shops were rebuilt. Instead, the larger enterprises expanded their premises; the Western Ironworks, for example, expanded to an L-shaped site extending across the entire depth of the block between Main and Beale.

Soon after the fire and continuing until the 1940s, the corner of Beale and Mission streets, with the street address of 101-117 Beale, was occupied by a sheet metal works. At 119-121 Beale, a two-story building housed a machine shop up through the 1920s, after which it appears to have been used for storage. Next to it, at 129-131 Beale, a brazing works occupied a one-story frame building, with a machine shop adjacent. Both of these structures were demolished in the early 1920s for a pair of auto garages.

The Western Ironworks occupied a single large, one-story, wood-floored frame building extending across to Main Street. This building was built as a temporary structure right after the 1906 fire, but continued to house the Western Ironworks until the 1950s; it would appear that the firm was increasingly a wholesale ironworks, specializing in ready-made structural steel and architectural ironwork. It did not contain a foundry furnace after it was rebuilt following 1906.

The California Ironworks & Krogh Manufacturing Company was located at 147-149 Beale, in a large rectangular frame building with a wood and earth floor; it specialized in structural

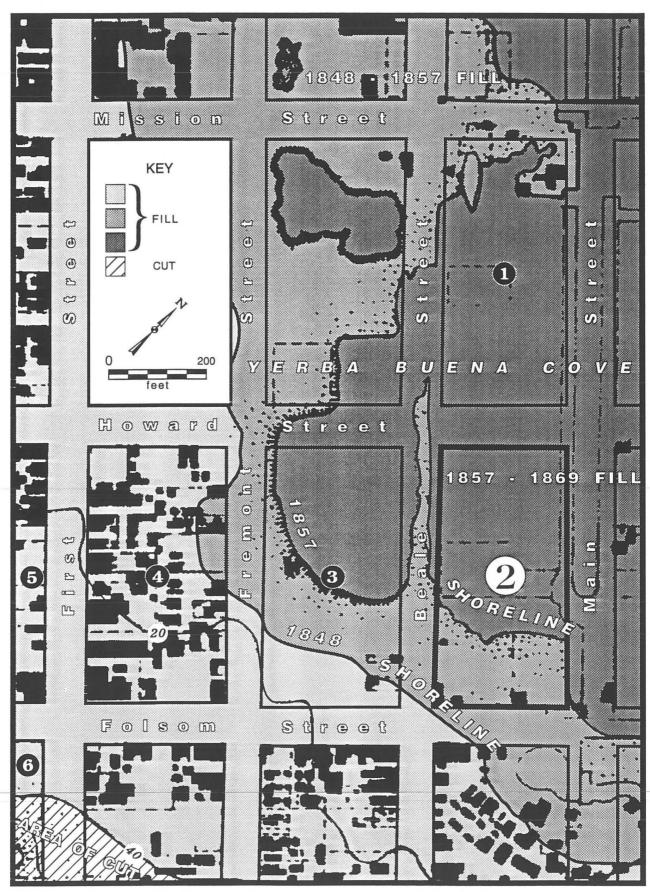
ironwork. Adjacent to it, the Joseph Wagner Manufacturing Company was housed in the three-story brick building which had been built for the Columbia Foundry and was rebuilt after the fire. Wagner specialized in making flour mill machinery; other machine shops occupied the upper floors of the building. A machine shop occupied another surviving part of the Columbia Foundry, standing isolated at 181-187 Beale. Finally, the corner lot at Beale and Howard appears to have been occupied from the 1920s through at least the 1930s by a gas station. The entire southwest quadrant of the block, containing these buildings, was levelled for the construction of the curving Bridge Railway viaduct in the late 1930s, which is still standing.

At 200-220 Howard, at the corner of Howard and Main, the Moore & Scott Ironworks was not burned in the 1906 fire, and continued in operation up through the mid-1920s. The complex housed the foundry in a one-story structure at 220 Howard, while the corner lot contained a two-story, wood-floored building with a machine shop on the ground floor, and a pattern loft above. In 1926 this site was taken over by the Hermann Safe Company, one of the largest safe factories on the West Coast, which constructed a two-story concrete building to house facilities for manufacturing, repairing, and servicing safes, together with corporate offices and showrooms. Hermann Safe remained in operation until the 1950s.

At 170 Main Street, the large rectangular lot remained vacant until the 1920s, when a two-story concrete parking garage was constructed on it. The next enterprise north on Main Street was the Globe Brass & Bell Foundry, which quickly re-occupied its fire-gutted premises in 1906. Immediately beyond the brass foundry was the Main Street frontage of the Western Ironworks, while beyond that, at 124-128 Main Street, was a coffee and spice warehouse, with a wholesale liquor store at 112-118 Main that became a wholesale drugstore during prohibition.

The Mission Street frontage of Block 1 was rebuilt with several ship chandlers, a sheet metal works at the corner of Beale, and a gas station at the corner of Main.

The southwest quadrant of Block 1 was cleared in the late 1930s for the construction of the Bridge Railway's elevated approaches to the Transbay Terminal; the remainder of the block was demolished for the construction of SF-480 in the mid-1950s, after which the surface area between the highway ramps was turned over to the Southern Pacific for its downtown railroad freight terminal, relocated at that time from Block 2. Southern Pacific constructed a highrise office building on that site in 1978.



Map 3.3: Topographic Changes, Approximate Areas of Cut and Fill - Block 2 (Based on U.S. Coast Survey 1852/53 and 1857/59)

3.2 BLOCK TWO: Bounded by Beale & Main, Howard & Folsom Streets

3.2.1 Summary

Block 2 was the last of the project blocks in Tar Flat to be filled and developed. As in the case of Block 1, it was mostly devoted to industry, but instead of numerous small foundries and machine shops, Block 2 was dominated from the late 1860s to the turn of the century by the Risdon Ironworks, which was one of the largest and most successful foundries in San Francisco, and the first to be planned from the start as a large integrated operation. The Risdon works specialized in producing very large riveted pipe, boilers, marine engines, and mining dredges. The works occupied most of the north half of Block 2; on the south half of the block, the Pacific Rubber Paint Company was housed in a large warehouse structure on Folsom Street that survived the 1906 fire and was not demolished until the construction of SF-480 in the 1950s. The Risdon Ironworks moved to the Potrero district before the 1906 fire; most of the north end of the block remained vacant until it was later occupied by a railway yard.

The southwest corner area of Block 2 is of special historic importance because it was the site of early boat-building and ship-repair operations near the original shoreline. A corner saloon and boarding house was built on the corner prior to 1852 and survived until the 1890s. Long after almost all of Block 2 was filled with heavy industry, this corner area remained largely unaltered.

3.2.2 Natural Site

Originally, Block 2 was part of Yerba Buena Cove, as can be seen on Map 2.1, the 1852/53 Coast Survey Chart; the depth of the water was approximately 1 foot at low tide. A comparison of Map 2.1 and Plate 2.3c shows that filling began along the shore south of Folsom Street. By the time the map was surveyed, the first structure on Block 2, a two-story frame structure built on piles out over the water, had already been erected at the corner of Folsom and Beale; for research purposes, this has been designated Building #22, and appears in many views where it serves as an important point of reference.

By the time that Map 2.4 was surveyed in 1857, the south end of Block 2 had been filled in, and two more small structures had been constructed along its Folsom Street frontage. The Main Street double wharf had been constructed, flanking the current alignment of Main Street, and additional water lots were demarcated by rows of pilings. Some efforts had been made by 1857

to fill in Beale Street, but at that date only a partly submerged dike extended north towards Howard Street.

Business directory research has revealed that the northern part of Block 2 remained unfilled for most of the decade between 1857 and 1867. Plate 3.3, the Gifford view, shows this graphically, with most of the block, except for its Folsom Street frontage, remaining a mudflat in 1864, and no fill at all along Main Street. Plate 3.10 indicates that the Main Street Wharf was still in use as late as 1867.

The long delay in filling Block 2 reflected contemporary land use patterns. Because the initial natural site of Yerba Buena Cove was too shallow to serve as a good deep-water harbor, the development of wharves along Main and Steuart streets was carried out early on to provide wharfage for large and mid-sized vessels. The wharves also provided a thoroughfare to ship-building ways and deepwater port facilities constructed off Rincon Point beginning in the mid-1850s. Contemporary views show that these wharves led to a buildup of mud and debris along their piles, impeding tidal action.

Even before Block 2 was filled, however, it was an important scene of economic activity. Plate 2.3 shows some of the many storeships moored in Yerba Buena cove; of these, two, designated Storeships B and D, were in place on Block 2. These ships are discussed in detail in Section 5.3.2.

The construction of the San Francisco Gas Company Works in 1853-1854, and the resulting constant discharge of coal tar into the mudflats of Blocks 1-3, made the filling of the privately owned water lots on these blocks contingent upon the demand for industrial sites. Noxious pollution from the gasworks made the general locale of Tar Flat unattractive to residential or even general commercial uses. Block 1 had the advantage of direct access to Mission Street and the most developed portion of the city, and was filled beginning at its north end, but Block 2 was accessible only via the Main Street Wharf and Folsom Street; accordingly, it was filled later.

The filling of Block 2 appears to have been accomplished mostly for the purpose of building the Risdon Ironworks in 1867-1868. By that time, Block 2 afforded the only large site within the foundry district of Tar Flat still open for development. Organized from the start as a joint stock company, the Risdon Ironworks could afford to invest the necessary capital in acquiring the site and filling it up to street grade.

Although the early filling of Block 2 along Folsom Street used sand from the bluffs of Rincon Point, the later fill, used to create the site for the Risdon Ironworks on the north half of the block, may well have originated elsewhere. By the mid-1860s, street grades in the general area were mostly well-established, and Rincon Hill was a developed area. As a result, much of the fill on Block 2 may have origins from outside the project area.

3.2.3 History of Block 2

Early Development, 1850-1860

The first structure to be built on Block 2 was the two-story building (Building #22) at the corner of Folsom and Beale that appears in the center of Plate 2.3c and on Plate 2.2. Building #22 is found on Map 2.1, the 1852/53 U.S. Coast Survey, at the corner of Beale and Folsom. It was built no later than December of 1851, since it is clearly visible on Plate 2.2. The freshly painted appearance of Building #22 in Plate 2.3c indicates its recent construction in 1850-1851. Building #22 was originally built out over the water on piles, and boats and ships are shown on early daguerreotypes moored near it in Plate 2.5. It appears as late as 1872 in Plate 3.4, the Muybridge Panorama, though its facade had been slightly altered in the intervening two decades. On the 1887 Sanborn Map, a building is shown on its site that was almost certainly the original structure. By 1887, almost the entirety of the remainder of Block 2 was devoted to industrial uses, and the saloon on the ground floor of Building #22 undoubtedly derived much of its trade from foundry workers.

Building #22 together with the area extending behind it is of special historical significance. It is the only known part of the shoreline of Yerba Buena Cove whose changes over time-especially during the 1850s--are documented through a series of fine photographic views. Because of its corner location, it is possible to precisely locate other structures and elements of the landscape in relation to it. Its location, directly on the original shoreline of Yerba Buena Cove, and the presence of boat-building and ship-repair operations in the area immediately to the north and east, lends special importance to the fact that this is the only part of the original shoreline of the cove to be well-documented. It is also noteworthy that elsewhere the original shoreline of the cove has been modified, not only by filling but also by excavations for the construction of large and modern buildings. This was not the case for Building #22 and its surroundings.

Building #22 is the first Block 2 address listed in business directories; in 1859, its ground floor was a grocery and liquor store run by Frederick Haase, who lived across the street at #254 Beale on Block 3. It is interesting to follow the fortunes of the Haase brothers, who served Tar Flat residents and workers for more than three decades. By 1890, Frederick Haase was dwelling at 419 Harrison (a distinctly residential neighborhood on Rincon Hill). One of his sons, Herman Haase, living at the same address, owned two liquor stores--one at the northeast corner of Bryant and Main, and another at the southwest corner of Harrison and Steuart. Though listed as liquor stores in directories, both would have been waterfront bars, probably serving San Francisco's

proverbial "free lunch" of pickles, eggs, and corned beef, along with local beers and liquor. Young Herman Haase, Jr., worked as a bartender in his father's saloons. In 1890 Frederick Haase was still in partnership with Frederick Schumacher in a waterfront saloon at 36 Steuart.

George Pearson was a saloon-keeper on the corner of Folsom and Main in 1862; the building that housed the saloon must have been built between 1857 and 1860, since Pearson is listed as residing in it in the 1860 census, but it had been demolished by the time Muybridge took his panorama, circa 1872. Pearson's saloon was built on filled land near the Main Street wharf.

On the 1857/59 Coast Survey (Map 2.4), a smaller structure appears approximately 25 feet to the east of Building #22; this was a house that also appears on Plate 3.4. Another building is also shown on Map 2.4, occupying the southeast corner of a 100-vara lot at the corner of Main and Folsom; it does not appear on Plate 3.4 and must therefore have been demolished at some date prior to 1873.

The Gifford view of 1864, reproduced as Plate 3.3, shows that relatively little had been built on Block 2 in the years since the surveying of the 1857/59 Coast Survey. There do not appear to have been any substantial industries located on Block 2 prior to 1860, and any development was limited to small commercial structures and possibly some boat building activity.

Residents of the 1860s and 1870s, along Beale and Folsom

Beginning about 1859, a small community began to coalesce on the southern portion of Block 2, along Folsom Street. Jobs for skilled molders and iron workers were to be found in the Sutter Ironworks, across Folsom Street, and in the boat-building and repair yards seen in Plate 2.3c. During the 1860s, we find small businesses and residences on the southern third of the Block 2-along Folsom, nearby on Beale, and to a lesser extent on Main--with families sharing houses and many single men boarding. It is no surprise that most of the men worked either in the foundry business or in the maritime trades. Iron molders came from the British Isles, skilled shipwrights and sailors hailed from Maine and Massachusetts. As in much of the Yerba Buena Project Area, located west of Second Street (Olmsted et al. 1979), the Irish and Germans ran the saloons and the corner grocery and liquor stores.

The residential section of Block 2 maintained an increasingly precarious toe-hold on the southern part of the block from 1859 to about 1880. During two decades from 1868 to 1887, heavy industry began to move in, first onto vacant or unfilled lots, and later displacing houses. This was not a sudden process but a slowly evolving one, as the Risdon Ironworks along Howard Street extended its plant southwards; by 1887 it occupied the northern two thirds of Block 2.



Plate 3.4a: A Panorama of Industry circa 1872 . . . Taken from the yard of the Sailor's Home near the northeast corner of Harrison and Main streets, this seven-part panorama reveals the mature complexity of the first wave of development of the northern slopes of Rincon Hill and the expanse of Tar flat. This most westerly segment of the panorama shows Main Street in the foreground, with the Folsom Street frontage of Block 3 occupying the center right below the minaret of the Selby Shot Tower. To its left rises the narrow black smokestack of the Miners' Foundry on Block 4. The residential character of Folsom Street along Block 3 appears in the dignified row houses; to their rear are crowded tenements fronting along Lincoln Place. On the northwest corner of Beale and Fremont streets, directly below the Shot Tower, can be seen the corner saloon and grocery store, operated by David W. Spencer in the 1860s up to the 1870s. A relation, William Spencer, worked in the saloon and became foreman of San Francisco Fire Department Hose Company #2 just down the street.

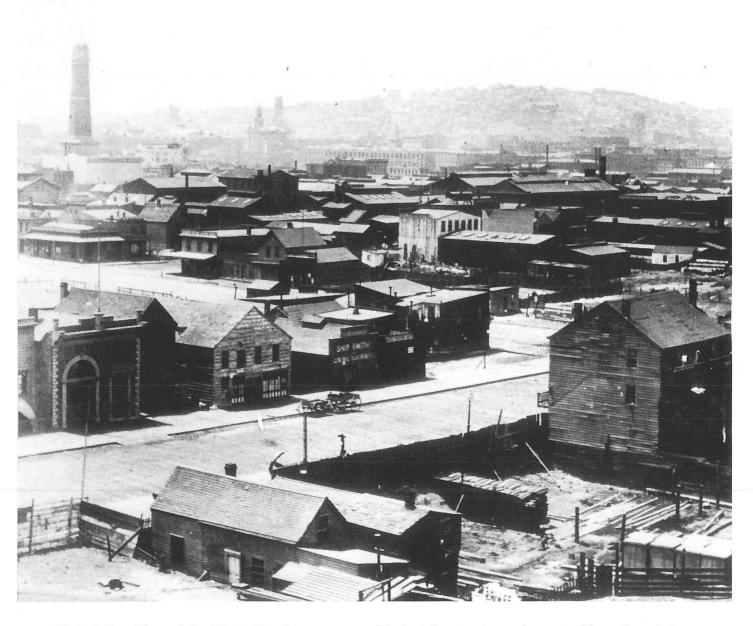


Plate 3.4b: More of the Muybridge Panorama . . . Most of the structures shown in this section of the panorama were still relatively new in 1872, despite their begrimed appearance. To the center left of the plate is the intersection of Beale and Folsom streets, marked by two saloons with light awnings facing each other across Beale. Main Street crosses Folsom at the lower right of the plate.

The two-story saloon (building #22), on the northeast corner of Folsom and Beale on Block 2, was one of the first structures on that block, appearing together with the peaked roof house to its right on the 1852 and 1857 Coast Survey maps, and also shown in Plate 2.5a, taken in 1853. From 1859, up through the 1860s, the saloon was run by Frederick Haase, who sold groceries and liquor to nearby residents. Haase preferred to live right across the street at 254 Beale Street, in the house that may be faintly discerned in the plate, adjacent to his competitor's liquor shop. The upper floor of the Haase saloon was run as a boarding house. In 1905 the venerable building still stood and was still a saloon under the proprietorship of Charles H. Lisener.

The remainder of Block 2 had not been dry land for very many years when Muybridge made this panorama, but its exclusively industrial character is already evident. Blacksmith shops and foundries occupied both sides of Beale Street between Folsom and Howard, but much of the interior of the block had not yet been built upon. By 1880, the Folsom Street frontage of Block 2 was transformed by the construction of the massive, three-story brick rubber paint factory operated as an adjunct to the Pioneer White Lead and Color Works, which in its turn replaced a host of smaller machine shops along Beale Street, behind the Frederick Haase house.



The corner of Beale and Folsom can be clearly seen in the 1872 Muybridge Panorama (Plate 3.4, in the section showing the Selby Shot Tower). The Risdon Iron Works can be seen on the northern third of the block in this view, as can the Tatum & Bowen Machine Shop. Of special interest is the corner structure, which appears to be the much earlier Building #22, associated with the boatyards in 1852-53. The original structure was shown to be built on pilings at this site. The two-story building is 25 feet wide and about 50 feet deep. The 1859 corner grocery and liquor store was built with an awning out over the planked sidewalk along Folsom Street, which had been filled and brought to grade by that date. Of the four structures along Beale, the corner Gold Rush structure (Building #22), and a one-story fire house with a false front that concealed its peaked roof, can be located on the 1887 Sanborn Map for Block 2.

The 1860 census enumerator recorded two families headed by iron molders dwelling on "the east side of Beale near Folsom." William Allen, an iron molder at the Sutter Ironworks, had been born 40 years earlier in Scotland. No wife appears in the census, but he was father to five children; the oldest was William Allen, Jr., age 17, and the youngest, Jane, was only 2 months of age. The family had immigrated before 1855. Also listed as living with the family, but with no identified relationship, was Sarah Freind (sic), age 29 and born in Massachusetts; she may have been responsible for helping with the young children. George F. Rice, age 24, and also an iron molder, headed the other family listed on Block 2 in 1860, and had moved in the previous year from Minna Street, between Fourth and Fifth. His wife, Mary, age 20, had been born in France, and they had twin infant boys born in California. The census taker also listed a boarder, H.P. Hyde, a laborer, age 50 and from Maine. All in all, 12 individuals lived there in 1860. Various others (not counted by the 1860 census taker) gave this same generalized address in the 1861 city directories; like William Allen, many may have worked at the nearby Sutter Ironworks.

The Muybridge view, Plate 3.4, shows a small one-story structure next to the corner grocery and liquor store, and a large two-story, peaked-roof house, with an awning over the wooden sidewalk. In 1870, this latter structure may have been a sailors' boarding house at 230 Folsom. The census taker recorded eight individuals living there: John Anderson, age 34 and born in Sweden, who worked as a stevedore; Anton Christy, age 24 and born in Norway, who is listed as a sailor; David Capp, age 24 and born in Scotland, who worked as a sailor; Edward Scott, age 27 and born in England, who worked as sailor and lived with his wife, Mary Scott, age 22 and born in Ireland. Several families are part of this same listing: John and Kate Dahan, ages 34 and 35 and both born in Ireland. John Dahan was a drayman (the census taker noted that he could not write). They had two small children, John and Mary, both born in California.

Judging by the number of individuals and households that the census takers interviewed in 1860 and 1870, there must have been several structures built along Folsom Street between Main

and Beale between 1860 and 1870. By the time of the 1872 Muybridge view only five buildings remained along Folsom near Beale. The rest of the block appears have been cleared--perhaps in preparation for industry moving in.

The number of buildings counted in the census had dropped by 1880; only a few families on Block 2 are listed as sharing houses, or living in a boarding house.

Beale Street business addresses listed a saloon, kept by Irish owners John Bresdin and Daniel Carlin, from 1869-1870. Both men had lived in San Francisco since the 1850s; Breslin was listed in the 1859 Directory as a stone mason dwelling at the northeast corner of Folsom and Second, while Carlin was listed as a laborer living on Sutter Street. Two ship riggers, Michael Reardon and Peter Talty, may have lived in rooms above the saloon; in 1859 Michael Reardon had lived on Block 9, on the north side of Silver Street between Second and Third, and was employed as a drayman. Also on Beale Street in the 1860s was Antoine Santos, a Portuguese ship rigger, and Wallace Shattuck, a machinist who had his business listed at 225 Beale in 1869. In 1860 George Bacon, a machinist from England, lived there and also listed this as his business address; a year earlier, he had been a boarder with Thomas Blackmore, just across a block away on Beale between Folsom Street and Harrison, and had worked as a machinist at the Vulcan Ironworks.

William Copeland, master of the schooner S. D. Bailey, shared the building at 227 Beale with his wife Elizabeth, age 28 and born in England. Their young daughter, Laura, had been born in California 6 years previously. The Copelands had an Irish servant, Mary Morrisey, age 26. William Copeland's personal estate was listed at \$5000. Like George Bacon, Copeland had earlier boarded with Thomas Blackmore a block to the south. By 1861 at the latest, this same Beale Street site belonged to the Pioneer Iron Works.

Where Folsom met Main Street, the 1872 Muybridge view shows no buildings standing. But in the 1860s there were some dwellings and businesses along Main towards Folsom on the south east portion of Block 2. With few exceptions, the residents that have been located dwelt there in the 1860s, prior to 1872.

For example, the Gibbs family dwelt in 1860 near the northwest corner of Folsom and Main (later the site of the California Oil Works by 1882): William Gibbs, age 59, was a ship's carpenter who had been born in England; his wife Sarah, age 52 and also born in England, had five children, ages 21 through 14 and all born in Ohio. Dwelling next door was J. H. Tillingous, age 53 and born in Rhode Island. He is listed as a mariner, with a personal estate of \$200. Living with him was Joseph Watkins, listed as black, age 53, and born in Massachusetts. He had a personal estate valued at \$200 and real estate at \$3000. Watkins' prosperity stemmed from his successful restaurant, which was on the north side of Folsom Street at the corner of Main. This

restaurant was called the "Live and Let Live" and is one of the earliest documented examples of a black-owned restaurant in San Francisco; it may have been the first integrated eatery in the city.

At the northwest corner of Main and Folsom in 1860 the Burnhaur family had their residence. James Burnhaur was a mariner born in Massachusetts; his wife, Laura, was also from Massachusetts. Rooming with them was George Pearson, listed as a laborer in the census, but as the proprietor of the corner saloon in the business directory.

In a late-1860s edition of the Great Register, a number of men listed the corner of Folsom and Main as their address: William Borcher, a boatman from Germany; James Gaffney, a fireman from Ireland who had worked at the San Francisco Gas Company Works since the 1850s; John T. Holland, a rigger from Ireland; Timothy Leahy, an Irish laborer; Robert Vivian, an English ship rigger; and Henry Rider, a bootmaker and extra fireman at Hose House #2 with the San Francisco Fire Department. Since saloons were the locus of electioneering at the time, it is very possible that this was simply these men's voting address.

At that same time (1868-1870) the following men were listed as dwelling on Folsom Street on Block 2 in the city directories: Samuel Baxter, an Irish waiter on a steamer; Joseph Dillon, an Irish steam engineer; Andrew Foulds, a barkeeper; David Gravener, a Welsh steward on a steamer; Robert Hamilton, a stoker; and Patrick Howard and Michael Mount, both stokers on steamers. The noticeable number of waiters and stokers on steamers may relate to the Pacific Mail Steamship Lines moving to the foot of First Street in 1869; the company operated the largest trans-Pacific fleet of steamers in the world, as well as steamers to New York.

Among the few families on Block 2 in 1880 were two Irish families at 228 Folsom. The Hardneff family had immigrated at least 16 years earlier; both John and Hannah Hardneff had been born in Ireland, 45 and 40 years previously. Their two older children, Peter, age 16, and Annie, age 15, attended school. Mary, their third child, was age 1. All the children were born in California. Living either at the same address, or close by, was the Pendergast family: William Patrick Pendergast, age 28, is listed as a storekeeper. He had been born in Ireland, as were his parents. The 1880 directory lists a Patrick Pendergast as a retail grocer, selling liquor; by 1883 he had his own grocery and liquor store at the corner of Third and Folsom. Catherine Pendergast, age 40, had also been born in Ireland. It would appear that the couple had moved first from Ireland to New Zealand, where their daughter Delia had been born 13 years earlier. Their other three children, ages 11 through 4, had all been born in California. The school-aged children are all shown attending school.

Listed at 230 Folsom, perhaps in the two-story, peaked-roof house shown in the 1872 Muybridge view, the 1880 census taker recorded the Orohan family: John Orohan and his wife, Catherine, had been born in Ireland 45 years previously. John was a teamster and Catherine kept

house, looking after John P. Orohan, age 11, born in California and attending school. At 232 Folsom, next to the corner, dwelt another Irish family. Ellen McCann, age 30 and born in Ireland, is listed as married and keeping house, but no husband was recorded by the census taker. City directories reveal her husband, Peter McCann, listing his address as 232 Folsom between 1879 and 1883. Peter McCann worked as a longshoreman and a laborer. Their six children ranged in age from 11 years through 4 months and were all born in California.

At 234 Folsom the census taker in 1880 recorded the McGiern family. John and Bridget McGiern had been born in Ireland 35 years previously. John was a sailor and Bridget kept house and cared for their two small children: William, age 2, and Martin, only 6 months old.

The corner grocery store appears to have been run in 1880 by Charles Mullen, age 40 and born in Germany. Working for him and living upstairs was Charles Meyers, age 47, also born in Germany and listed as a "roomer."

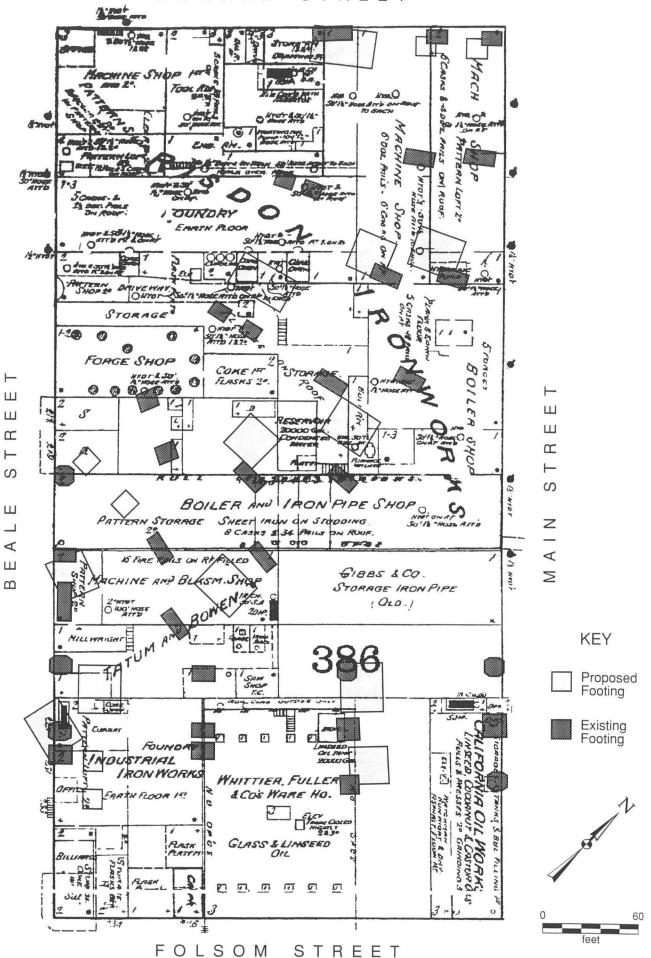
All of the other adult residents of Block 2 in 1880 were Irish-born skilled and semi-skilled laborers. In 1880, with the exception of the German grocery store, all of the adult residents of Block 2 were Irish-born and working-class. By the time of the 1887 Sanborn Map, there were very few places for people to live on Block 2. Still in place was the corner structure, Building #22, that housed a grocery and liquor store dating back to 1851. Now, in 1887, it had become the Struckmann Brothers' Saloon, operated by William and Henry Struckmann, who ran a billiard hall in back, around on Beale Street; Henry lived upstairs.

The Sanborn Map of 1887 indicates a single dwelling that remained at 219 Beale Street, and perhaps some housing at 217 Beale, over the saloon run by John Henry Bose; but Bose had his residence above another saloon that he owned at the corner of Bryant and Third streets.

The fact that the giant Risdon Iron Works and other smaller industries had spread out to occupy the entirety of Block 2 by 1887 is reflected in the changing scene: the corner grocery and liquor store is now advertised as a saloon and billiard hall, and midway in the block another saloon found it profitable to be located so close to men on a payroll.

Industrial Development, 1860-1906

The earliest industry that can be located on Block 2 with certainty is Life C. Watts' ship-building yard at 235 Beale Street, in operation in the mid-1860s. The location of Watts' boatyard is shown, on the 1887 Sanborn Map (Map 3.4), to be the same as Building #22, which also housed Frederick Haase's liquor and grocery store with lodgings above. Thus, it would appear that Watts' boatyard proper was located to the rear of this corner structure, which may have served him as an office. Watts' ship-building operation did not continue on Block 2 through the



Map 3.4: Block 2, 1887 Sanborn Map, Showing Proposed and Existing Footings

1870s because of encroaching fill; but as late as 1879, he is listed as the proprietor of a marine railway near India Basin.

By the late 1870s, the site at 233 Beale, immediately north of the corner of Beale and Folsom, was occupied by the Industrial Ironworks under the proprietorship of Lewis, McCormick & Company; after 1883, it was run as a family business by Thomas A. and John McCormick. Business directories show that John McCormick's son, William, worked at the ironworks as a machinist in the late 1880s, while continuing to reside with his father on McAllister Street. By 1900 Joseph McCormick and Walter McCormick also worked there as molders. As shown on the 1887 Sanborn Map, the Industrial Ironworks occupied an earth-floored, two-story, wood-framed square structure, with a storage yard connecting it to Folsom Street; the company remained in operation until the 1890s. The premises were later taken over by the Brown & Nugent blacksmith shop, which remained in operation until 1906; like many larger blacksmith shops, it also made carriages and wagons.

North of the Industrial Ironworks was Charles H. Leavitt's Pioneer Ironworks at 225-227 Beale, founded in 1869, and remaining in operation until the 1880s. The establishment of the Leavitt works helps date the Muybridge panorama to the years 1872-73, because the building that housed the works appears on the view with the same configuration that it retained on the 1887 Sanborn Map (Map 3.4).

Like several other small foundries in the project area, Leavitt specialized in iron fireproofing, in an age when fires were frequent and all urban businessmen were rightly concerned about the dangers of conflagration. Iron doors were specially designed for warehouse and commercial buildings, fitted so that they would have room for expansion in a fire's intense heat. Leavitt's advertisements show woodcuts of the elaborate safes that he manufactured; at the time, safes were as much an insurance against fire as against theft. Prefabricated prison cells were another product of the Pioneer Ironworks, as well as wrought-iron girders for structural uses. According to the 1878 directory, the Pioneer Ironworks was the only safe and vault maker in San Francisco, and employed 20 hands with a production valued at \$150,000 a year (Langley 1878:36).

George W. Mixer, a bung-maker, is also listed in 1879 at 225 Beale; presumably he shared space with the Pioneer Ironworks. Bung-making was an important craft prior to the 20th century, since most liquids were dispensed from barrels that required bungs or spigots, and Mixer specialized in cast metallic bungs, some of which were of complex and ornate design.

The Pioneer Ironworks remained in operation until the 1880s, when the premises were taken over by the Tatum & Bowen company, a large printing machinery manufacturer. At the time, San Francisco was the center of the printing industry on the West Coast, and Tatum & Bowen manufactured presses and machinery for the many small local newspapers located throughout

California. The firm dealt in other types of machinery that were based on a continuous-feed principle, such as saw mill machinery. Detailed information about the Tatum & Bowen works is scarce; given the general business of the company, and the fact the works did include a machine shop, forge, blacksmith shop, pattern shop, millwright, and saw shop, it would appear that this plant was the general factory of the firm.

Tatum & Bowen did not occupy the site past the 1890s, when the building was converted into a brass foundry and plating works. Two enterprises shared the site up the 1906 fire: the Eagle Brass Machine & Plating Works, and Morris Greenberg's Sons brass foundry, both of which had previously been located on Block 3. Activities carried out in the plant included the full range of brass and bell founding, and metal plating. The buildings on the site do not seem to have changed very much between these different owners; as can be seen on Map 3.4, the north half of the lot was occupied by a one-story machine and blacksmith shop, with a second-story pattern loft on the Beale Street Frontage; the south half, immediately adjacent to the Industrial Ironworks, was largely an open yard with several small sheds housing specialized crafts.

Along the Folsom Street frontage of Block 2, just east of Beale Street, two small boarding houses built in the 1860s had been converted to pattern storage for the nearby Industrial Ironworks by the 1880s. Occupying the exact central third of the Folsom Street frontage of the block was the Pacific Rubber Paint Company, a branch of Whittier, Fuller & Company, but operated separately from the Pioneer White Lead and Color Works on Block 3. Rubber paint was produced here from 1877-1878 through the 1890s, probably co-extensive with the operation of the lead works on Block 3. Rubber paint, the predecessor of modern latex paint, was made by adding small amounts of natural rubber to the other paint constituents. Because the processes used to produce rubber paint were still novel in the late-19th century, they tended to be closely guarded trade secrets of the paint manufacturers. Surviving documents from the Pacific Rubber Paint Company are full of testimonials to the durability of rubber paint but contain scant technical information.

The building in which these materials were used was a very large, three-story, brick warehouse building; in addition to the rubber paint factory, it also served as a general warehouse for Whittier, Fuller & Company operations, storing linseed oil for paint mixing and glass used in mirror manufacturing. After Whittier, Fuller moved its manufacturing operations to South San Francisco, the warehouse was acquired by the Haslett Warehouse Company and used for general storage; it was unharmed by the 1906 fire, and was not demolished until the construction of SF-480 in the 1950s.

On the lot immediately east of the paint factory was the G.E. Pennington & Sons Tool Manufacturers, which was built in the late 1880s:

Messrs. G. and E. Pennington and Sons are manufacturers of the best refined cast tool steel, machinery and hammer steel, steel piston rods, shear blades, lathe spindles, and all kinds of steel forgings, refined bar steel in octagon, round, square, or flat is made in sizes and lengths to order; while miners' drill steel, picks, crowbars, sledges, hammers, etc., are manufactured on an extended scale. The works at numbers 218 and 220 Folsom Street occupy a full water lot 45 by 137 1/2 feet in size and are supplied with all adequate machinery operated by an engine of 75 horse power. Conspicuous amongst the machinery are two steam hammers weighing 1000 and 2000 pounds respectively.

The firm gives employment to ten skillful and competent machinists and has all the work that can possibly be attended to. Special attention is given to the manufacture of cast steel tools which are used extensively by carpenters and builders in the city and throughout this portion of the state. Their business was started in 1873 and deserves that liberal encouragement and support it has received from the beginning [Anonymous 1889:109].

On the corner of Folsom and Main, S. B. Seeley Iron & Steel was established in the early 1880s. After 1882 the corner lot was occupied by a three-story building with an asphalt floor housing the California Oil Works, operated by Haycock, Tallant & Cotton.

The oil works site was occupied after 1888 by the Enterprise Foundry, a mid-sized ironworks that "employs nearly 100 men . . . This concern began in a comparatively small way eighteen years ago, and increased in size and importance until seven years ago when it was incorporated on a most extensive basis, and now does the bulk of the foundry work in this vicinity" (Anonymous 1904:148). The Enterprise Foundry was established by H. Schrader, who continued to run the foundry until after the 1906 fire.

Along Main Street, several small industries were present in the 1870s, all of which were constructed after the Muybridge panorama was taken circa 1872. By 1887 these had been displaced to make way for expansion of the Risdon Ironworks. At 230 Main, E. H. Thomson operated a machine shop in the late 1870s; next door at 228 Main, W.S. Ray operated the O.K. Foundry from the mid-1870s. Ray sold tin plate, sheet iron, and tinner trimmings, and manufactured ship's stoves for vessels ranging from 20 to 2,500 tons, and a wide variety of other maritime metal parts, including ships' water closets and binnacle lamps. The foundry proper advertised "all kinds of light and ornamental castings, stoves, etc., smooth castings a specialty, grates and fire backs for ranges" (1878 Langley:lxxiv).

Also at 228 Main in the late 1870s, William Rutherford manufactured and sold mining machinery from his ore-pulverizing machine factory. Pacific Plumbago Company was located at 230 Main in 1878, specializing in stove polish; graphite was commonly the main ingredient of

stove polish at the time. This business became the Pacific Stove & Ironworks in the early 1880s, a foundry specializing in stove castings for home, commercial, industrial, and maritime uses.

The Risdon Ironworks

The Risdon Ironworks was the first metal-working industry in San Francisco planned from the start as a major industrial enterprise by a group of influential industrialists, one of whom, William Alvord, was elected mayor of San Francisco in 1871 (Alvord lived at 564 Folsom on Block 5). The foundry had its origin in Risdon & Coffey's boiler-making establishment, previously located at Bush and Market. Hittell, writing in the mid-1860s, describes that company:

There are two establishments in this city where nothing but boilers are made. One of these is carried on by Coffey and Risdon, at the corner of Bush and Market Streets, and was commenced in 1850. They employ about 80 men, use 50 tons of boiler iron per month, and have probably turned out 100 boilers within the last year. They make the boilers for the California Steam Navigation Company, have made some for the Savage Mining Company, sent some to the Sandwich Islands and Mexico, are making some, with other machinery, for a Philadelphia Petroleum Company to be used for oil boring in the vicinity of San Buenaventura [Hittell n.d.].

Even before the establishment of the Risdon Ironworks on Block 2, John Risdon had investments along the waterfront; in the 1865 directory, he is listed as associated with the Main Street Wharf Company, with offices at the corner of Main and Bryant, while he lived at 213 Harrison Street. Planning for the Risdon Ironworks took place between 1865 and 1867; the plant was built in 1868, and described in the directory of that year:

During the year the Risdon Iron Company erected extensive works on the corner of Beale and Howard streets; the main building is three stories high, reaching 225 feet on Beale and 275 feet on Howard. The works of the company cover nearly the whole of two fifty-vara lots; about \$100,000 being spent since they commenced building [Langley 1868:69]

After the establishment of the ironworks, Risdon's interest in the Main Street Wharf continued: by 1873 he had left the ironworks that continued to bear his name to concentrate exclusively on the wharf. His fortunes declined over time. By the 1880s, he had left San Francisco to live in Fruitvale, only maintaining an office at the merchants exchange, where he was listed as a





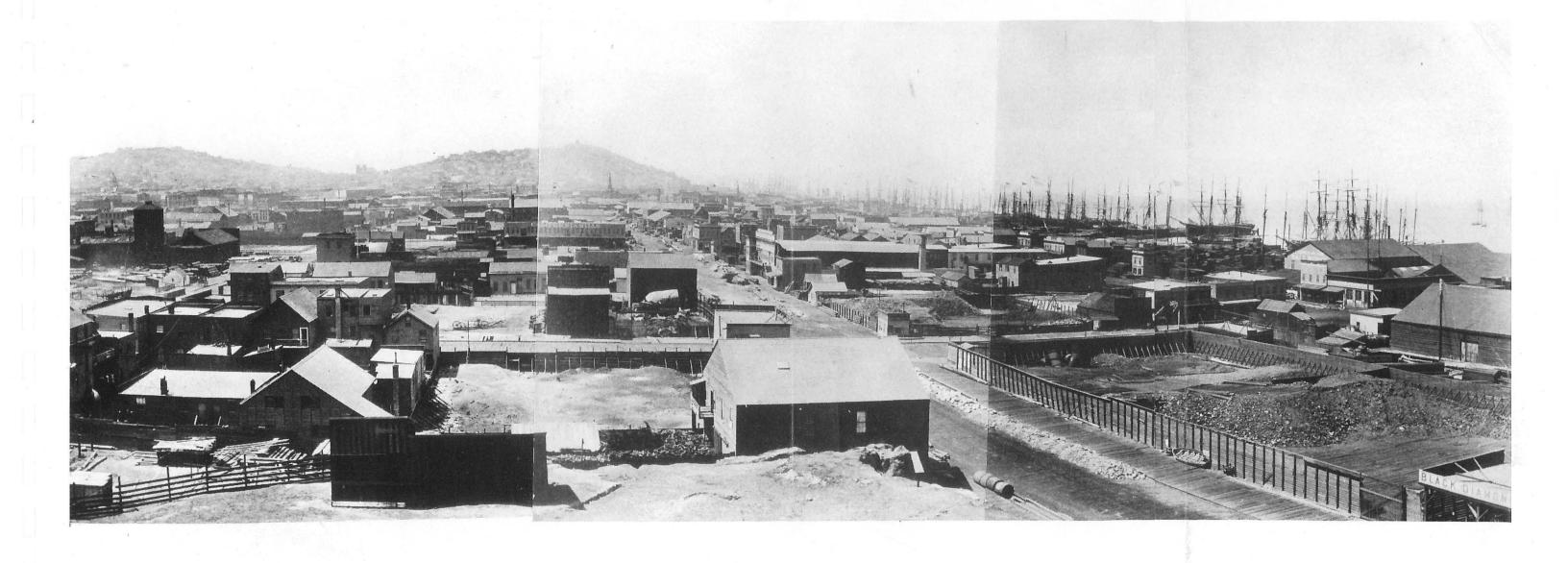


Plate 3.4c, 3.4d & 3.4e: The End of Tar Flat... During the 1860s, most of the land shown in these three sections of the Muybridge panorama was reclaimed from Tar Flat. As a result, the San Francisco Gas Company Works was forced to move its effluent pipe from Block 3, out of sight to the left, to a deep declivity in the vicinity of Spear Street, which bisects this portion of the panorama from the lower right corner to the middle distance. But even in this 1872 view there are still unfilled lots: the Black Diamond Coalyard occupying the right third of the plate could have been planked for no other reason than that it was not solid land; the lumber schooner that may be discerned behind the coalyard at the far right reveals both the level of the bay and its continued presence behind the line of East Street.

Perhaps better than any other view, this panorama shows the extensiveness of industry in the Tar Flat area, from the Risdon Ironworks on Block 2, to the left--with its massive tower and shops, and enormous iron pipes piled outside in front--to the coal docks along East Street on the right. The utilitarian sheds that filled the intervening blocks housed warehouses, machine and blacksmith shops, planing mills, and metal works. Their prosperity is attested to by the piles of finished goods and raw materials that can be found all along the length of Spear Street.

Risdon Iron and Locomotive Works

COR. BEALE AND HOWARD STREETS, SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

MANUFACTURERS OF

STEAM VESSELS OF ALL KINDS

WITH HULLS OF WOOD, IRON OR COMPOSITE

Steam Tugs and Steam Launches, Stationary Engines and Boilers of Every Description

MINING, HYDRAULIC AND SUGAR MACHINERY

WROUGHT-IRON WATER PIPE A SPECIALTY.

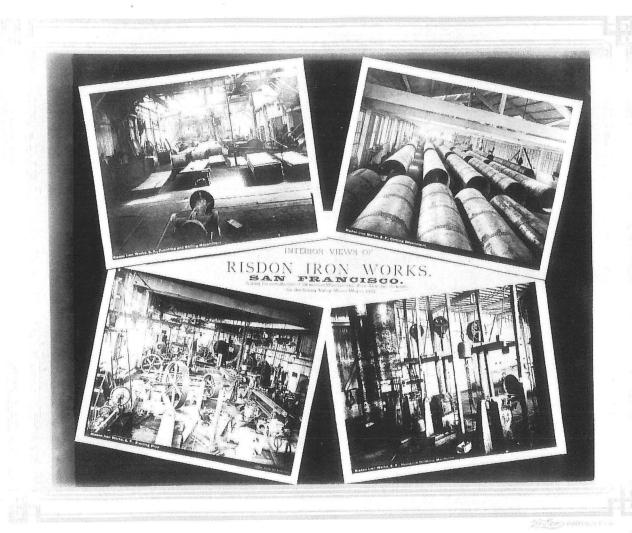


Plate 3.5: Interior of the Risdon Ironworks . . . Conceived from the beginning as a large and integrated operation capable of competing with Peter Donohue's Union Ironworks, the Risdon Ironworks was organized as a joint stock company in 1868, and built its plant on most of Block 2, which had previously been part of Tar Flat. As the interior view shows, the Risdon works were capable of executing orders for very large machinery, such as the huge penstock pipes shown in the upper right-hand photograph. Indeed, the firm specialized in hydraulic mining equipment, offering enormous self-contained dredges which were shipped (in pieces) to rivers throughout the West, and as far as New Zealand and Siberia.

The very success of the Risdon Ironworks led to the abandonment of its site on Block 2, initially selected because of its capaciousness and convenient location, in favor of a larger site in the Potrero where Risdon already built marine engines and entire steamboats. The removal of the Risdon works signaled the beginning of the decline of the neighborhood industrial economy--no longer could up-to-date heavy industry be accommodated on the south of Market blocks.



Plate 3.6: Internal Combustion and the New Century... The expressions on the faces of these workmen at the Moore & Scott Ironworks show us how quickly technological novelties become commonplace; the year is around 1910, and the motor truck still an unusual sight on San Francisco streets. Was the picture taken simply to show off the new truck, or were these men bound on some important errand? The hard-faced foreman on the right sets the serious tone of this scene: clearly, these are working men intent on the job to be done.

Moore and Scott had long careers in the foundries by the time this picture was taken. Both men had invented and refined the mining machinery that made Tar Flat the world's leader in that specialized branch of industry. In 1910, few realized that the motor truck represented a watershed in industry with profound implications for the foundries of Tar Flat and industry in San Francisco as a whole. Within a few years, the steam technology of the foundries would be rendered obsolete by internal combustion, and the foundries of Tar Flat would become as impermanent as the mansions of Rincon Hill.

Courtesy of the Bancroft Library

millwright and engineer. William H. Taylor became president of the Risdon Ironworks in 1873 and continued to run the company until the works moved to the Potrero just before the 1906 fire.

Hittell describes the wide range of machinery designed and manufactured by the Risdon Ironworks for specialized uses:

The Risdon Iron and Locomotive Works, which makes a specialty of machinery for mines, steamships, and sugar mills, is one of the great iron establishments of our time, especially worthy of note for having manufactured the Virginia City water pipe and the Chollar-Norcross pump, which seem destined to occupy a place in the history of hydraulic engineering, as well as in that of our coast. The Risdon Works also made the pipe to convey water across a deep ravine for the irrigation of Claus Spreckels' sugar plantation in the Hawaiian island of Maui, and the Yellow Jacket hoisting apparatus, which last, constructed to hoist ore from a depth of 4,000 feet, weighs 350 tons, and is the heaviest machinery of the kind ever made [1882:660].

Contemporary photographs of the Risdon Ironworks reveal that its production was so substantial as to spill out of the buildings shown on Map 3.4 and fill nearby vacant lots and sidewalks. In the Muybridge view (Plate 3.4) the tall water tower dominates Block 2; in front of it many large boilers may be seen, stacked among the massive riveted-iron pipes that were a specialty of the works.

Unlike other San Francisco foundries that made do with cramped and ramshackle premises, the Risdon works had an entirely up-to-date facility, as can be seen in Plate 3.5. Hittell describes:

The Risdon works had the first hydraulic press riveting machine in the United States. The pump and hoisting works which they are building for the Eureka Consolidate Mine are designed on a plan bold and original in conception as well as grand in scale, and promise to add much to a reputation already high. In short, if the Risdon establishment is not so large as many in Europe or on the Atlantic slope of our continent, it is second to none as to capacity in its specialties. In order to handle the enormous weight of the pieces of machinery manufactured in its shops, it has a revolving crane, capable of lifting 50 tons, with 12 hydraulic side cranes. Electric light is supplied after dark, by 16 Brush burners, each of 2000 candle power. The establishment, at the corner of Mission and Beale streets, San Francisco, is the property of an incorporated company, in which there are 12 shareholders. W.H. Taylor is the president. . . [1882:661].

The Risdon Ironworks specialized in advanced hydraulic systems designed to move large volumes of water. Throughout the west the increasing development of very deep mines, both in California and especially in the Comstock, required innovative technology to deal with the problems posed

by underground water. Designing and building entire mechanical systems, as opposed to specializing in particular parts, differentiated the Risdon Ironworks from East Coast foundries, as Hittell explains:

The manufacture of pumps of vast power has become a specialty of California machinists and engineers, and in nothing do our foundries and machine shops excel those of the Eastern States more, than in the manufacture of the powerful pumps used in deep mines. The greatest California work in this line is the Chollar Norcross pump, to hoist water from the 2,400 to the 1,600 foot level, in the combination shaft of the Chollar, Norcross, and Savage mining companies of the Comstock Lode. . . .

The pump, devised by Joseph Moore and G.W. Dickie, of the Risdon Ironworks, used a column of water from 400 feet above the surface to the 1,600 foot level, to pump the column of water 800 feet high from the 2,400 to 1,600 foot level. In other words, a column of water 2000 feet high above the Sutro Tunnel, is used to raise another column of water, 800 feet below the level of the tunnel. This pump is entirely different in conditions, requirements, and height of its column of water than any elsewhere in use; and has a number of new inventions and adaptations. The pipes are made of cast iron because there was no sufficient stock of thick sheet on the coast, nor of machinery to roll the sheets, nor was there time to wait for obtaining the machinery of the sheet iron from the Atlantic Slope. But there was no cast iron that would endure the strain; and after careful experiments, a new mixture was made, including some cast steel, that would bear the tremendous pressure.

A new pump was invented by Mr. Dickie, on a plan which, it is thought, is less likely to get out of order than any other. . . . The result is that the pump raises 1,600 gallons of water every minute, or nearly 10,000 tons in 24 hours. The success of this experiment—it was generally considered a very bold experiment—is complete, and arrangements are now being made to obtain a water supply large enough to hoist the water and ore of all the Comstock mines by similar power, and thus save a vast expenditure in fuel [1882:421-422].

What was characteristic, not only of the Chollar-Norcross Pump but of many of the Risdon Ironworks' products, was the adaptation of steam power and hydraulic technology to deal with the complex problems that the scale of new mining operations required. The decade of the 1860s that separates the establishment of the Risdon Ironworks from the Miners' Foundry, on Block 4, gave the two rival foundries different characters. Although the Miners' Foundry produced many patented devices, especially ore separators and amalgamators, its products tended to be smaller in scale, best adapted to small and mid-size mines that needed quick and inexpensive solutions. By contrast, the Risdon Ironworks was established after the dimensions of the problems associated with very deep western mining were realized; instead of trying to offer quick and

simple solutions, the Risdon Ironworks provided much more elaborate and expensive machinery that would pay for itself over a period of many years. In this respect, the Risdon works represented a natural development of the local iron-founding and metal working industries:

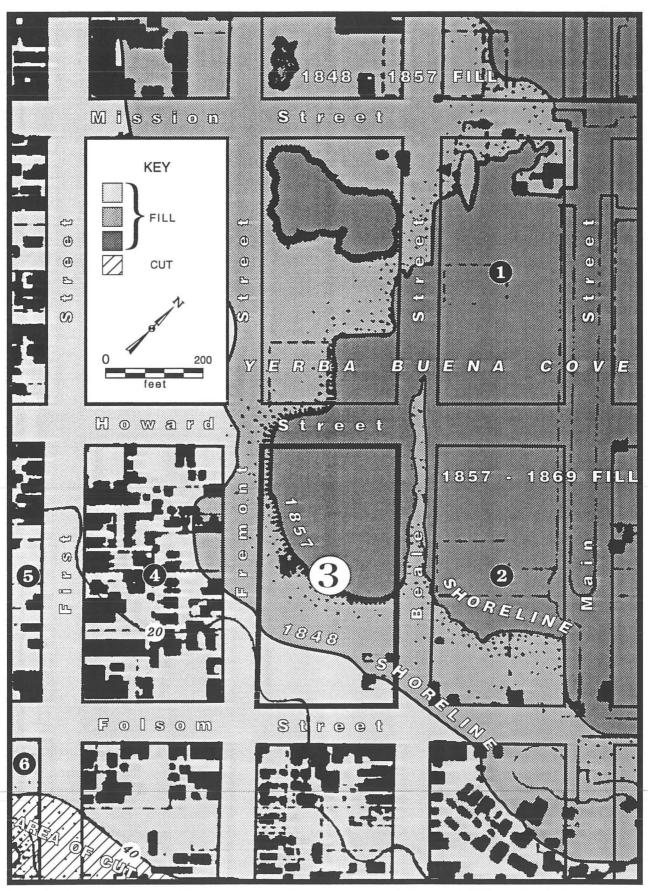
The eastern method is for each house to make a specialty of some particular branch of the business, while our larger foundries and machine shops make everything that is in demand, from mining machinery, locomotives, steamship engines, sugar mills, and architectural iron, down to the various small articles required for every day use. . . . Few of them work otherwise than to order, and the quantity of goods made up in stock is very inconsiderable. Such articles as pumps, stoves, car wheels, etc, are usually ordered from the East, while those castings which require special molds, or are needed for mining machinery, or being bulky would cost too much in freight, are made on this coast.

Our principal establishments have machine tools, costing in some instances 10,000-15,000 dollars with which they turn out work quite equal to that produced in any part of the world. Mining machinery has constituted the great bulk of the heavy iron work done in San Francisco up to the present time. . . . In the construction of mining machinery inventive and mechanical skill have been taxed to their utmost, to meet each new emergency, and thus results have been attained, perhaps superior to any similar work done elsewhere in the world [Hittell 1882:659].

In 1881 three-fourths of the total value of ironwork done in San Francisco was related to mining. Since that statistic included firms that produced no mining machinery at all, the proportion of production devoted to mining at the Risdon Ironworks was probably greater (Hittell 1882:659). Nevertheless, the works often applied mining technology to solve other problems. For example, the works built the enormous pipes that would irrigate Claus Spreckels sugar operations in Hawaii; just getting the pipes to Hawaii proved a major problems and they were finally designed to telescope into one another to fit on board sailing vessels. For the Palace Hotel, intended by its builder, William Ralston, to incorporate all of the latest gadgetry, the works produced the first hydraulic elevators on the West Coast (Hittell 1882:433). By the turn of the century, Risdon catalogues were printed in Spanish and Russian, and the company exported hydraulic dredges to destinations as far away as New Zealand, Siberia, China, and Alaska (Risdon catalogue collection, Bancroft Library).

Industry on Block 2 after 1906

Well before the 1906 earthquake and fire, the Risdon Ironworks had opened another plant on Potrero Point with access to deep water for maritime work, dating back to 1882. In the early years of the 20th century, the company was closing down operations on the Block 2 site, which could no longer accommodate the space needed for the firm. Partly because most of Block 2 was already vacant, the structures at its south end, including the Enterprise Foundry and the former Pacific Rubber Paint factory, were spared destruction in the 1906 fire. The building that had housed Pacific Rubber Paint served for many years as a chocolate factory. The rest of the block remained mostly vacant, used for a Southern Pacific freight yard until the construction of SF-480 in the mid-1950s.



Map 3.5: Topographic Changes, Approximate Areas of Cut and Fill - Block 3 (Based on U.S. Coast Survey 1852/53 and 1857/59)

3.3 BLOCK THREE: Bounded by Fremont & Beale, Folsom & Howard Streets

3.3.1 Summary

Perhaps more than any block South of Market, Block 3 epitomized the name Tar Flat. As can be seen on Map 3.5, it was only partially filled by 1857/59; at that time, it lay opposite the San Francisco Gas Company Works, which had begun operations on Howard Street in January of 1854. Coal tar effluent from the gas works was dumped directly onto Block 3, making the area a coal tar sump from 1854 until as late as 1875. In 1864 most of the northern half of the block remained a tar sump, with no development.

By 1860 a small residential enclave had been established along Folsom Street, beginning near the corner grocery and liquor store that operated on the corner of Beale, and extending west towards Fremont. This Folsom Street frontage can be seen as part of the Muybridge panorama (Plate 3.4) taken about 1872. Sailors and marine engineers, shipwrights and caulkers, machinists, iron workers, and saloon-keepers made up part of the mixed population of Block 3 from the 1860s up through 1880.

From 1875 until 1896, the dominant industry on Block 3 was the Pioneer White Lead and Color Works, which produced most of the lead-based paint used inside and out on the wooden structures of San Francisco and the Pacific Coast. Pioneer White Lead had a virtual monopoly on the production of lead paint, one that continued until the leadworks burned in 1896, together with most of the northern half of the block. Living directly behind the leadworks on Lincoln Place in very small houses were large families who were listed in the 1880 census. Many of them Irish-born, these were day laborers supporting six and seven children, living next to the corroding sheds of the Pioneer White Lead and Color Works.

The only pre-1906 industrial site not to be displaced by the lead works was the Murray Brothers' Machine Shop (1880-1906), a good example of the small, family-run metal-working industries to be found throughout Tar Flat.

After the 1906 fire destroyed houses dating back to the late 1850s and early 1860s on the south third of Block 3--these houses had escaped damage in the 1896 lead works fire--the block was gradually rebuilt with buildings entirely devoted to industry. The W.T. Garratt Brass Foundry moved south to rebuild on Block 3; it had been one of the oldest continuously operating brass foundries in the city. In the 1930s this industry, together with a number of warehouses, was torn

down to construct the Bridge Railway viaduct leading to the Transbay Terminal. The balance of the southern half of Block 3 was cleared for construction of SF-480 in the 1950s.

3.3.2 Natural Site

With the exception of its southwestern corner at Folsom and Fremont, Block 3 was originally part of Yerba Buena Cove, as can be seen on Map 2.2, where the original shoreline appears as a dotted line inland of lands filled between 1849 and 1852. The original shoreline ran from the intersection of Folsom and Beale to a point approximately 150 feet north of Folsom at Fremont; from there it curved west across Fremont and back again, so that the crossing of Fremont and Howard also marks the original line of the beach. Map 2.1 indicates that the water that covered most of Block 3 was quite shallow, 1 foot deep at mean low tide. The bottom of the cove was hard sand, without protruding rocks.

Filling had begun on Block 3 from a very early date, so that by the time the 1852/53 Coast Survey was drawn, the shore had been advanced to bisect the block on the line of Folsom/Beale and Fremont/Howard streets. Plate 2.3c shows that this filled area was only slightly above the high tide line, and that the filling was done to level out the sandy bluff that formed the duneline of the beach of Yerba Buena Cove, creating level waterfront lots for small warehouses and maritime-oriented activities.

By the time the woodcut shown in Plate 2.7 was drawn in December of 1854, most of Block 3 was still under water. By then, Mission Street had been filled as far as Beale, and Beale extended out as an embankment as far as Howard, a street that only existed on maps east of Fremont Street. Small boats are shown sailing between Mission and Folsom. By the time Map 2.4 was surveyed in 1857, filling had not progressed very much farther on Block 3 than it had in 1852. Beale Street is shown on the 1857/59 Coast Survey as extending in an ill-defined spit from Folsom towards Howard. Very few permanent structures are shown on Block 3, more than half of which was still unfilled. Plate 3.2, a daguerreotype taken in 1856 from the corner of First and Harrison looking northeast, confirms the picture of the block suggested by the 1857/59 Coast Survey: most of the block is a mudflat, largely cut off from tidal action of the bay, with no discernable economic activity.

Plate 3.2 is notable for being the first good view of the San Francisco Gas Company Works, constructed in 1853-1854 surrounding the intersection of Howard and Fremont. The large brick industrial building that appears in the center of Plate 3.2 is the distillation house of the gasworks, built about 1856. From this structure, the end of a coal-tar discharge pipe may be discerned

emptying into a ditch near the corner of Howard and Beale; the effluent from this pipe gave the whole surrounding district its name: "Tar Flat."

After the end of the San Francisco real estate boom in the early 1850s, areas such as Block 3 were left only partially filled, but nonetheless cut off from the bay. Coal tar from the gasworks continued the filling process. As a result, a strata of tarry matter may be expected to be encountered on those parts of Block 3 shown as water in the 1852/53 Coast Survey; this tar deposit would range in depth from the low to the high tide line, some 15-20 feet below the base city grade.

As late as 1864, when Gifford drew the birdseye view of San Francisco reproduced in Plate 3.3, much of the northern half of Block 3 was still a tar flat. In the Gifford view, several small structures appear along Beale Street, which has finally been fully established as an open street between Folsom and Howard. The Folsom Street frontage of Block 3 has been built up to a point approximately 200 feet north of Folsom, but the remainder of the block is still empty of structures. Business directory research has shown that this undeveloped portion of Block 3 was filled by the early 1870s. Unfilled or partially filled pockets could have remained until the construction of the Pioneer White Lead and Color Works in the center of the central third of the block in 1875/1876.

3.3.3 History of Block 3

Early Development, 1849-1857

Plate 2.3c gives a good view of the first buildings on Block 3 in 1852/53, contemporaneous with Map 2.1. The long, two-story warehouse on the left of the view was located on filled land fronting on Fremont Street on Block 3, with its back open to the bay. To the right of this warehouse, a small white house set further back from the street also appears on the 1852/53 Coast Survey. Both of these structures were just north of the SF-480 right-of-way.

Map 2.1 shows a cluster of buildings near the corner of Beale, and an isolated house midway between Beale and Fremont. The buildings at the corner appear clearly in the center of Plate 2.3c as generic small wood-frame structures of a type very common in San Francisco in the 1850s; they may have been used for storage, for light industry, or as residences.

By the time the 1857/1859 map was surveyed, the warehouse shown in Plate 2.3c, together with the house next to it, was no longer standing. It may well have been dismantled and moved to a location nearer the waterfront, since by 1857 filling along Beale Street had cut off Block 3

from useful maritime access. No new buildings were built on the block between 1852 and 1857, although other nearby areas show a greatly increased building density during that same period. This may be because the effluent from the new San Francisco Gas Company Works had made the block unattractive compared with other available building sites.

Directory research has not turned up evidence of any industries on Block 3 prior to the 1870s; since the 1864 Gifford view shows that the Folsom Street frontage of the block was filled with buildings by that date, it would appear these were houses. It is likely that the houses shown on Plate 3.4, which also appear on the 1887 Sanborn Map, were the structures shown on Gifford's view. If this is the case, the date of their construction can be placed between 1857 and 1864. This assumption is consistent with the presence of corner stores, such as Andrew Turner's butcher shop on the corner of Fremont and Folsom, which was listed for the first time in the 1862 business directory.

The Residential Framework of Block 3, 1860-1880

Census data has confirmed that Block 3 residents were concentrated along Folsom Street, with considerable numbers living on Block 3 as early as 1860, in houses constructed after the surveying of the 1857/1859 map. Insofar as these early residents can be located precisely, they dwelt mostly on or near the corners of Folsom and Fremont, and Folsom and Beale. Both of these corners were occupied from the late 1850s by grocery and liquor stores, with dwellings clustering around them.

The best view yet discovered of the residential part of Block 3 is a section of a Muybridge Panorama, Plate 3.4, taken from the yard of the Marine Hospital above Rincon Point circa 1872. The corner of Folsom and Beale appears to the right of the plate, with the one-story corner store clearly visible under its sidewalk awning. The small alleyway that appears on the 1887 Sanborn map (Map 3.6) between 318 and 320 Folsom appears as a gap to the left of the white-painted house at 318 Folsom. West of 320 Folsom, a row of five identical two-story houses are designated 314-322 Folsom on the Sanborn Map. Occupying the corner of Folsom and Fremont, the roof of a taller two-story shop building is visible; it contained a shop on its ground floor, with apartments above. The houses along the Folsom Street frontage of Block 3 were very similar in design, all but one having awnings or porticoes extending out over the plank sidewalk, and all presenting respectable and dignified facades to the street.

We know less about the smaller tenements that clustered along the alleyway off of Folsom and along Lincoln Place. The 1894 Handy Block Book shows that the five row houses on Folsom and all of the dwellings on Lincoln place were owned by Joseph (or James) Enright. Clearly, all had

been built as rental properties, with the more spacious Folsom Street row houses designed to be rented to middle-class families, and the much smaller houses along Lincoln Place to working-class tenants. Lincoln Place itself was designed not as a public street, but essentially as a private alley to maximize the available street frontage of the Enright property.

The Corner of Folsom and Beale

The three houses and two shops on the corner lot at Folsom and Beale that appear on the 1887 Sanborn Map were grouped around a common yard. By 1894 all of the corner property is listed as owned by C. W. Crocker, the railroad magnate. Crocker owned property throughout San Francisco, and this corner block of a shop and four houses was undoubtedly a tenement investment. It is probable that the corner had been a single parcel as far back as the early 1850s, rather than one assembled by Crocker through purchase from several owners.

Map 3.7 shows a one-story shop on the corner itself, with its rear section used as a dwelling. A two-story house was next to it on Beale Street, while further along Folsom Street another two-story structure had a shop on part of the first floor with the balance devoted to residential space. The yard to the rear of these buildings contained a fourth structure, a one-story shed that may have contained privy or kitchen facilities.

The living space behind the corner shop was occupied in 1860 by Edward Sayer and his family. Sayer was a 49-year-old mariner born in England--considerably older than most of the population of what was still a very young city. His wife, Margaret, was 36 and of Irish birth. The Sayer family had reached San Francisco by way of Australia, for the two daughters, ages 15 and 17, were both born in that country. Sayer is listed as owning real property valued at \$2000, which at contemporary prices could have been a small house. The Sayers shared the house with several lodgers, including a 23-year-old English mariner who may have worked with Edward Sayer, and a 43-year-old Rhode Island-born carpenter. In the 1861 directory, James Hayden is also listed at that address as a merchant; Hayden was a sewing machine salesman.

By 1880, 300 Folsom Street (as the corner building was now numbered) was home to a single 45-year-old ship's carpenter from Ireland, and Francis Hall, a Maine-born machinist at the U.S. Mint who was also single; the corner shop was listed in the business directory of that year as a liquor store run by David Spencer; Spencer lived nearby at 306 Folsom.

The distinction at the time between a saloon and a retail liquor store was largely verbal. By 1900 the corner was listed as a saloon run by William Nash, who lived behind it. Nash was 67, had immigrated from Ireland in 1858, and resided in San Francisco since 1893; he had been married for 35 years in 1900, but his wife is not listed as residing with him. Nash still ran the

saloon in 1905, apparently still living there as well; he lost both his home and his business in the 1906 fire.

A building immediately adjacent to the corner saloon, which was probably the two-story house on Beale, was inhabited in 1860 by several men all working in maritime trades. David Ferris was a 30-year-old Irish stevedore, apparently unmarried, who had already managed to acquire real estate worth \$1000, as well as a personal estate of \$200. He shared the house with the Robinson family, headed by William Robinson, a 30-year-old ship joiner; his wife, Margaret, age 26, and their daughter Mary, age 10. The Robinsons were Irish, and had lived in New York in 1850, where Mary was born. Like David Ferris, they had already achieved a measure of financial success, with William Robinson owning real estate valued at \$2000, as well as a personal estate of \$300. In the 1859 directory, William Robinson was listed as a ship-joiner working on the west side of Steuart near Mission.

The house at 306 Folsom, two doors down from the corner at the west edge of the Crocker property, was occupied from at least 1860 to 1880 by the Spencer family. In 1860 the census listed David Spencer as 36-year-old mariner from Ireland, but we know that he ran the saloon and the liquor store on the corner; evidently, he had recently given up the sea for settled married life, since the 1859 directory lists him as a seaman dwelling on the east side of Beale between Folsom and Harrison. Between 1859 and 1860 he married Catherine, age 35; she was also from Ireland. David Spencer was listed as owning real estate worth \$10,000, but personal property of only \$100--the real estate may have been the corner property that included both the saloon and 306 Folsom. By 1870, David Spencer gave his age as 44, and Catherine, modestly, as 40; the family appears to have descended economically somewhat, since David is now listed as a laborer owning only \$5000 in real property, though his personal property had increased to \$500. Catherine was now keeping house and caring for her one child, David Junior, age 8. William Spencer, a 22-year-old saloon keeper and foreman of San Francisco Fire Department Hose Company Number Two (located a block away), was also part of the household. Also born in Ireland, he was doubtless a cousin, nephew, or brother of David Spencer; he had evidently taken over management of the corner liquor business.

The Spencers did not occupy the entire house at 306 Folsom during this period; in 1860 the same house was also home to William and Daniel Harrington, ages 13 and 14, and both born in New York. William Harrington is also listed at that address in the 1868 Great Register of Voters, but by now his age is listed, dubiously, as 23 (he had evidently begun to vote at a youthful age) and his occupation is that of saloon keeper. Francis Hall, a 23-year-old Maine-born machinist also lived there in 1877; along with Andrew Reeves, a 35-year-old caulker from New York.

The Spencer family was still living at 306 Folsom in 1880. David Spencer now listed his age as 60 and his occupation as liquor dealer, while Catherine was 54; David Spencer, Jr., was working as a clerk, and William Spencer had evidently moved elsewhere. In 1880 the Spencers had four boarders; one was Thomas O'Neil, who was a 54-year-old Irish-born engineer for the Pacific Mail Steamship Company and probably spent most of his time at sea; another boarder was John McCullen, a 34-year-old Irish custom house officer; a third was Joseph Libbey, a 50-year-old Maine-born ship caulker; while the fourth was Michael Monaghan, a 34-year-old Irish laborer. Clearly, the Spencers' household was at least decently respectable by the standards of the time, since three of their four boarders had middle-class or skilled working-class occupations, and presumably had a range of housing choices, being middle-aged single men, apparently without dependents.

It is quite possible that the Spencers' long occupation of 306 Folsom was because they owned the house; both a value of \$10,000 in 1860, and of \$5,000 in 1870, representing David Spencer's real estate holdings, are not inconceivable for the house.

Certainly, by 1894 the property was owned by Charles Crocker, and by 1900 the Spencers have either moved elsewhere or died, since the house was then rented by the Haughy family, headed by James Haughy, a 65-year-old cook who had immigrated from Ireland in 1834 as a new-born child. Haughy's wife, Helen, was 58 and of English birth; she had immigrated in 1870 and had eight children in the course of her marriage, only three of whom were still living in 1900, and only one of whom, George Haughy, a 28-year-old California-born machinist at a saw works, lived with his parents.

Behind the Lead Works on Lincoln Place

The back houses at 1-3 Lincoln Place were small even by the standards of the time. Each house had two stories, was 20 by 25 feet, while two-thirds of the back yard was taken up by a one-story 12- by 20-foot outbuilding. The outbuildings in back, shown on the 1887 Sanborn Map (Map 3.6) as containing stoves or fireplaces, were most likely kitchens. Immediately to the rear of the row were the towering corroding sheds of the Pioneer White Lead and Color Works, where, 24 hours a day, seven days a week, white lead was being produced in large containers of acid.

At 1 Lincoln Place, 13 people lived in the house in 1880. On one floor in front, David Bradshaw dwelt with his wife and six children; the Bradshaws probably had three rooms between them, with a total of about 600 gross square feet of floor space (including space occupied by walls, fireplaces, and stairs). Bradshaw was a 35-year-old Irish laborer; his wife, Kate, was age

30 and also Irish-born. Their six children ranged in age from 8 years to 9 months; none are listed as attending school. The family had moved from New York to Illinois around 1872, and had come to California about 1875. On another floor of the house lived the Anice family, of Scotch-English origins. John Anice was a 49-year-old laborer who had been unemployed for four months in the census year; his wife, Susan, was age 42, and the couple had lived in California since at least 1870. Their 10-year-old son is listed as attending school, but their 5-year-old daughter is not.

As well as these two families, an 80-year-old Irish widow, Catherine Hawkin, is listed as a boarder. She may have lived with one of the two families, or she may have occupied part of the one-story rear addition to the house.

By 1900 the lead works had burned down, and most of its site remained vacant, but 1 Lincoln Place remained and was now home to 15 individuals. On one floor of the house lived the McCarthy family, headed by Hannah McCarthy, a 44-year-old widow who was mother to seven children, six of whom were listed as still living in 1900 and residing in the house. Hannah McCarthy had immigrated in 1869 and had been a resident of California, and probably of San Francisco, for 31 years. Of her children, the eldest, 23-year-old Mary, is simply listed as "daughter" with no separate occupation; Dennis McCarthy, age 22, worked on steam engines; James McCarthy, age 18, had enough education to work as a bookkeeper; Joseph and Justin, ages 10 and 14, attended school; the youngest son, Peter, age 16, worked as a box maker, but had been unemployed for half the preceding year.

Living on another floor of the house was the Dulan family, headed by John Dulan, who is listed as renting the house; he had two other dependents whose census entries are illegible. Dulan took in several boarders, including three brothers ranging in age from 20 to 24: Patrick, William, and Charles Sullivan, all of whom were born in California of Irish parents. Patrick and William Sullivan were both in maritime trades, and Charles was a stevedore who had been unemployed for three months the preceding year; all three were single. Another boarder, James Anderson, had been born in Scotland 27 years earlier and had immigrated in 1889; he was also a single boarder and worked as a marine engineer, perhaps with one of the Sullivan brothers.

The other two houses on Lincoln Place were slightly less crowded than #1, but still had between six and nine occupants each in any given census year between 1870 and 1900 for which information is available; the working inhabitants of these houses were mostly listed as laborers, though there were also some skilled trades represented, such as a butcher, a carpenter, and a blacksmith.

Row Houses on Folsom Street

The five row houses on the Enright property on Folsom Street presented a handsome appearance to the pedestrian; they were built in a style typical of the period, of which only two or three examples survive in San Francisco today. Each house occupied a lot with a 25-foot street frontage that extended back 65 feet to Lincoln Place. Since the land is shown as vacant and undeveloped on the 1857/59 Coast Survey Map, the houses were evidently constructed between 1858 and 1860. Data from the 1859-1861 directories show that they were originally inhabited by middle-class tenants, but these gave way to skilled and unskilled working-class occupants by the 1880 census.

The house at 314 Folsom was the easternmost of the row. In 1861 it was the home of two former United States Marshalls, P. L. Soloman and John H. Williams; the men's families may have also lived there. William Gering, a machinist at the Union Iron Works on First Street, was a resident in 1869.

In 1880, 314 Folsom was occupied by the Hand family, headed by James Hand, a 40-year-old Irish boilermaker. His wife, Mary, was age 34 and also born in Ireland; their six children ranged in age from 15 to 1 year. The eldest three daughters attended school, but the eldest son, 13-year-old Michael Hand, already worked as an apprentice at a foundry. The Hands rented the whole house but took in boarders, one of whom, Dennis Crane (or Crannon) is listed as working both as a coppersmith and as a hostler at J. H. Swain's Livery Stables. Swain's was just up the street near Folsom and First, and was regarded as the most fashionable place in San Francisco to hire a carriage. Dennis Crane was age 27 and single; he had been born in Massachusetts of Irish-born parents. Another possible boarder was Catherine Abern, a widowed baker, who is listed in the 1880 directory as living at 314 Folsom but does not appear in census records.

By 1900, 314 Folsom was occupied by two families. The largest of these was the Bohen family, headed by Patrick Bohen, a 48-year-old stevedore born in Ireland, who immigrated in 1872 and had been a resident for 28 years. Bohen evidently was having a difficult time, for he had been unemployed for half of the preceding year and had a large family to support. His wife, Margaret, was age 42 and also Irish; she immigrated in 1878 and had been married to Patrick for 15 years in 1900. The Bohens had four children, ranging in age from 14 to 8 years, all of whom are listed as attending school. The Bohens had lived in New York when their children were born; their move to California did not seem to have brought them the prosperity they undoubtedly hoped for. The Bohens shared the house with a small family headed by Patrick Teeling, a 52-year-old Irish stevedore who was a widower with a son, age 22 and also a

stevedore, and an 18-year-old daughter; both children were born in California, and both father and son had been unemployed for two months out of the preceding year.

The other four houses in the row show a similar pattern of occupancy. Their inhabitants in 1860-1861 included a lumber dealer, an auction and commission merchant, a clerk, two bookkeepers, and a real estate investor. Skilled craftsmen predominated on the row from 1868/69 to 1877, whose residents included an iron molder, two pattern-makers, a bookkeeper, three bookbinders, the captain of the bark *Occident*, a carpenter, a caulker, and a manufacturer. In the period 1880-1900, middle-class residents had largely been displaced by increasing numbers of unskilled laborers and shopkeepers, while skilled workers in the iron and maritime trades continued to reside in the row. Likewise, two families sharing a house had become the rule during the 1880-1900 period, although the houses did not, for the most part, have more occupants than the much smaller houses behind them on Lincoln Place.

The Alley off Folsom

This 8-foot-wide alley was not the property of a single owner, since the 1894 Handy Block Book shows that the property along it was held by two unrelated individuals, with the alley forming the property line between them. The alley was flanked by two substantial frame houses on either side of its intersection with Folsom Street; it ended in a yard on which there were two more two-story dwellings.

308 Folsom This address was more a compound than a single residence. Along Folsom Street there was a two-story house with a shop on the ground floor, with several small one-story outbuildings to the rear. Towards the rear of the 25- by 135-foot lot was another two-story house, and at the back of the lot was another one-story outbuilding.

At least the front house was built between 1857 and 1861, since the directory of the latter year finds it the residence of three men: Charles L. Abbott, a bay pilot officer; John McDonald, a maritime carpenter at John North's shipyard; and R. Summers, a partner with Gilbert E. Underhill in a wood and coal yard. Since #308 is listed as a business office for Summers, it is likely that his wood and coal yard was nearby, on undeveloped filled land on Block 3.

By 1869 the house was run as a boarding house by a Mrs. C. Fields; a cook and waiter who worked there are listed in the 1869 directory. The 1869 and 1870 directories show that the tenants were connected with maritime trades, including three stokers, a seaman, and a shipwright.

In the 1880s, the house was home to the Harrison family and was no longer run as a boarding house. George Harrison, of a Massachusetts family, was age 42 and worked as an officer at sea; his 38-year-old wife, Mary, was also of Massachusetts stock; she kept house and looked after their two daughters, aged 13 and 3 years.

By 1900 the house was rented by Ward Brown, a 24-year-old railway conductor from Missouri of Irish ancestry whose wife, Lizzie, age 20 and born in California, was a saloon-keeper--an unusual occupation for such a young married woman at the time. The Browns took in two boarders: Susan Barrington, age 47, and her daughter Lucretia, age 18 and born in California. Lizzie Brown's saloon was most likely the ground floor of the house, listed as a shop in the 1887 Sanborn Map, and occupying what would have been the dining room and parlor of the house when it was run as a boarding house.

The rear two-story house on the property was numbered 308-1/2 Folsom; it was rented out separately from the house in front and appears, from the 1872 Muybridge view, to have been a utilitarian structure with a shed roof and blank rear walls.

This building had nine occupants in 1880, divided among three families, one of which may have lived in the smaller one-story building to the rear. Lange Bray was the head of one family; he was a 22-year-old teamster from a Massachusetts family; his wife, Alice, was age 23 and also from Massachusetts. The Brays had just recently arrived in San Francisco; their 2-year-old son was also born in Massachusetts. The Hitchings family may well have travelled west and then shared a floor of the house with the Brays, since they were a very similar family, also from Massachusetts. Robert Hitchings was a 30-year-old sailor; his wife, Nelly, was 25 and kept house for him, as well as looking after their 2-year-old son, also born in Massachusetts. A third family at 308-1/2 in 1880 were the Raymonds. Henry Raymond was an officer at sea; age 29, he was born in England of English parents, and was married to Kate, age 20, born in California of English and Irish parents; the couple had a 1-year-old son.

310 Folsom This large two-story building, with small one-story outbuildings to the rear facing onto the alleyway, is clearly visible on Plate 3.4, the 1872 Muybridge view. The 1887 Sanborn Map lists the house as having three stories, and it is likely that the third story was either only a small penthouse or was added sometime between 1870 and 1887.

The house was built between 1857 and 1860, in common with most of the other dwellings on Block 3. The first identifiable residents, the Rinney family, are found in the 1861 Directory. Philip Rinney was a carpenter; the household included three women who were milliners, working for other women who had millinery establishments. By the period of 1867-1877, voter registration information has uncovered several new residents. John Stark, a butcher from Bavaria who was age 32 in 1869, is listed in both the 1869 and 1877 registers; he had been naturalized in San Francisco in 1868 and lost no time in exercising his franchise. In the 1869 directory, Thomas Waters, a miner, is listed as residing at 310 Folsom. Between 1867 and 1872, Charles Caldwell lived there; a carpenter, he was age 32 in 1867 and came from Pennsylvania. William Kreger, a friend of Caldwell's and a Pennsylvania-born carpenter, is also listed there in 1867.

By 1870 the house had two Irish families as residents. John Moran was a 50-year-old laborer married to Ellen, age 40 and also Irish; Moran's personal estate was listed at \$300. The Morans had seven children ranging in age from 23 to 2 years. The 23-year-old daughter, Eliza Moran, lived at home; 16-year-old Delia, 12-year-old Margaret, and 6-year-old John attended school. In the house to the rear lived the O'Neil family, headed by David O'Neil, a 35-year-old Irish laborer, married to Eliza, age 30; they had a new-born son, David Junior, but no other children.

In 1880 the McCabe family was the largest family unit living at 310 Folsom. Maurice McCabe was age 40 and of Irish birth; his wife Ann was the same age and nationality. They had three children: Mary, age 9; Eddy, age 4; and Katie, age 2. All three children were California-born. It would appear that the McCabes lived in the rear, just as the Morans had, since the seven other residents of the address include several unrelated adults living in the same building--presumably over the shop at the corner of Folsom Street and the alley.

312 Folsom This small two-story house is of particular interest because it was not a speculative rental building, in contrast to most of the other houses on the block that appear on the 1887 Sanborn Map. The building at 312 Folsom occupied an unusually shaped lot, only 15 feet wide but 145 feet deep. Adjoining the rear of the main house was a one-story outbuilding; the remainder of the long and narrow lot is shown as vacant on Map 3.6. The house may have been the first constructed along the Folsom Street frontage of Block 3, since its setback from the street would have made little sense if it had been built after the neighboring houses, which overshadow it as a result.

The house first appears in the 1867 register as the address of Charles Caldwell, age 32, and William Kreger, age 34; both men were carpenters from Pennsylvania. Caldwell, at least, continued to live there through 1872.

By 1880 the house was the residence of Philip Reilly, 69-year-old Irish-born carpenter. Reilly's wife, Bridgit, was age 60 and also Irish; their two unmarried daughters, ages 29 and 25, lived at home and have no occupations listed. Several boarders completed the household: William Spratt, Nicholas Galloway, and Andrew Carnagy, all of whom were caulkers; and Tim McCarthy, an unmarried Irish laborer, age 40.

Reilly was a successful carpenter who owned not only the house at 312 Folsom, but also the building next door at 310 Folsom. He probably built both houses himself. In the 1894 Handy Block Book, 310 is listed under his own name, while 312 is owned by Margaret A. Reilly. By then, Philip Reilly was about 83 years old; his family does not appear in the 1900 census.

In 1900, #312 was occupied by another Irish family, the Floods. Walter Flood was a 53-yearold painter born in Pennsylvania of Irish-born parents; he rented the house. Walter Flood's wife of 16 years, Florence, was age 35 and born in California of American-born parents; their two Ш

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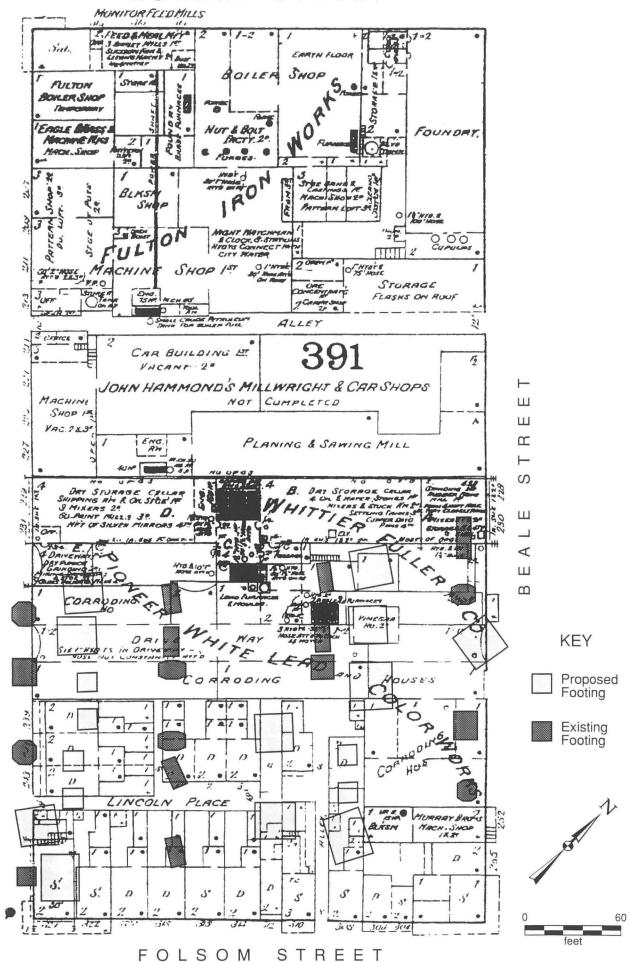
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Map 3.6: Block 3, 1887 Sanborn Map, Showing Proposed and Existing Footings

children, ages 14 and 6 years, both attended school. Apparently, the Floods were prosperous enough to have the house solely for themselves, for no boarders are listed in the 1900 census.

Early Industrial Development

Before the establishment of the Pioneer White Lead and Color Works in 1875-1876, several industries were located on its site as listed in business directory sources. Since all were gone by the publication of the 1887 Sanborn Map, their exact locations remain speculative.

Along Beale Street, only one small industry appears to have been displaced by the Pioneer White Lead and Color Works. This was a file and tool-making shop located at 248 Beale and operated by Adelbert Wolf in 1875; his business was taken over by 1878 by M. Kelley, who listed himself as a toolmaker in the business directory.

On Fremont Street, the site later occupied by the lead works mill and warehouse at 231 Fremont was the location in 1872 of William Ware's machinery shop. At 229 Fremont, also the site of the lead works warehouse, Tobey Varney manufactured quartz amalgamators for mines as well as general machinery in 1872. No businesses are listed for the remainder of the property later occupied by the lead works.

Murray Brothers' Machine Shop

Located on a small, 25- by 85-foot lot at 252 Beale Street, the Murray Brothers' Machine Shop was between the lead corroding houses of the Pioneer White Lead and Color Works and the residential compound at the corner of Beale and Folsom. It is the only pre-1906 industrial site within the Block 3 that was not displaced by the lead works. A good description of the shop is given in a commercial guide of the 1890s:

The Murray Brothers' Machine Works was founded in 1880 by William F. and Samuel Murray, and is still conducted by them on the original site at 252 Beale street, near Folsom. Starting with a cash capital of \$400, the Murray Brothers have, by their mechanical skill, indomitable energy and business capacity, in a single decade built up a manufacturing institution that in magnitude and capabilities is mostly of a whole lifetime's expectations. Some of the machinery manufactured by the establishment are improved hoisting engines for all purposes, marine, stationary, and portable engines, logging engines, steam launches, sawmill machinery, pile-driving machinery, etc.

In short, it does machine work of all kinds, and makes a specialty of jobbing and repairing. None but the best material and workmanship enter into its productions.

The proprietors are, besides, the inventors and patentees of nine or ten useful and valuable mechanical devices and improvements, among which is a logging engine for hauling logs from where the trees are felled from the forest to the public road. This engine performs its labor so successfully and expeditiously that a saving in expense is effected of \$1 on every 1,000 feet handled. Their inventions applied to pile-driving machinery have caused a revolution in that business, for the amount of work is trebled with the same expenditure of power. An improved cargo dumping apparatus for unloading vessels is another of their time and labor saving inventions [Anonymous 1892:143].

One of the lumber-hoisting engines mentioned above is preserved at the Roots of Industry Museum at Willits, California.

The machine shop is a good example of the small, family-run metal-working industries that were located throughout Tar Flat in the years prior to 1906. The fact that the Murray brothers held several patents for their inventions is also typical of the industry at the time. Instead of merely operating as an industrial service enterprise, a machine shop would often produce custom-designed machinery which, if successful, could be patented and manufactured for a variety of customers.

The Murray Brothers' Machine Shop was also typical in that it was in business for a long period of time, from 1880 until 1906 on Block 3, and later a block away just outside the project area until the 1930s.

The Pioneer White Lead and Color Works, 1875-1896

From 1875 until 1896, Block 3 was the site of one of the first major chemical works on the Pacific Coast. The Pioneer White Lead and Color Works produced the vast majority of the lead-based paint then used, supplying not only the considerable needs of the San Francisco area, but also exporting white lead to many more distant markets.

The lead works had their inception in the wholesale paint businesses of William Parmer Fuller and James Whittier, who both had large paint importing businesses. According to Hittell and the biographer of W. P. Fuller, the works was established on the site in 1875. San Francisco City Directory research largely supports this information. Whittier had set himself up in the paint retail and wholesale business in 1863, when he appears as a partner in "Cameron, Whittier and Co., importers and jobbers, paints, oils, window glass, at 425-427 Front Street" in the Langley directory of that year. William Parmer Fuller was at the time the principal of the second largest paint company in California, and the two firms merged in 1868.

In the 1876 directory, Whittier, Fuller is still listed at Front and Pine streets, but by the 1877-1878 directory, the company is listed at 229-231 Fremont Street, which is the address of the brick warehouses adjacent to the lead corroding houses shown on Map 3.6. In 1880 a listing also appears also for the Pacific Rubber Paint Company, at 228-230 Beale Street, on Block 2. By 1882 the Fremont Street address had been expanded to 229-239 Fremont, reflecting the construction of additional white lead corroding sheds. Directories subsequent to 1887 show the continued presence of the works through 1896, with William P. Fuller, proprietor.

The buildings of the lead works were projected in 1872 and constructed in 1875, according to Fuller's biographer, as shown in the illustration of the firm's catalogue, reproduced as Plate 3.6. The works are shown on Map 3.6 as occupying an L-shaped site. The site begins 75 feet north of Folsom Street on Beale, continues along Beale Street for 160 feet towards Howard Street, divides the block in a straight line to Fremont Street, where it continues for 135 feet along the Fremont frontage. The south boundary of the site forms an L, with one leg extending perpendicular to Fremont for 150 feet, adjoining the rear yards of houses off of Lincoln Place. At a distance of 70 feet from Beale Street, the property line turns right, south towards Folsom Street, for a distance of 70 feet. From there it continues to meet Beale Street at a right angle.

The north end of the site was occupied by two four-story brick structures containing warehouse and lead-milling facilities, with a mirror manufactory on the top floor. The remainder of the site was occupied by corroding sheds, where white lead powder was produced out of pig lead through a traditional acid corrosion process. These sheds were contained within a barn-like, wooden structure.

In 1896, the lead and acid works was completely destroyed by fire, and the building containing the paint warehouse and lead mill was gutted (Fuller 1939:144). The fire was described as "one of the fiercest fires ever to visit the neighborhood," with the loss set at \$225,000. Blame for the fire was variously apportioned between inadequate safety precautions in the works, and sparks from the blacksmith shop of the Murray Brothers' Machine Shop, just south of the corroding sheds. Rather than rebuild on the same location, a new site was chosen in South San Francisco, which opened in 1899 (Fuller 1939:116).

Historical Significance of the Lead Works In the late 19th century, San Francisco was a city largely built of wood, and in the state as a whole an even greater proportion of the buildings were of wood construction. Most of the wooden buildings in 19th-century California were painted with white lead, and between 1875 and 1896, most of this paint was produced on Block 3. Before the construction of the works, all of this paint had to be imported by sea, because no local chemical industry existed. Even after the construction of the transcontinental railway, rail freight rates were so high for many years after 1869 that bulk shipping continued to be transported by

sea. Hittell describes how Whittier, Fuller got into white lead manufacturing and how it was done:

As the people of our coast erect a great number of wooden buildings every year, and generally paint them externally as well as internally, we consume paints [including] 3,500 tons of white lead, worth about \$600,000 at wholesale. The white lead, linseed oil, and most of the varnish, are made here; and here the colors are ground in oil, but we produce no pigment save white lead. . . . The processes used here in the manufacture of lead . . . have no novel feature. . . . The painters add 4 gallons of oil to 1000 pounds of ground white lead. Putty is made by mixing whiting with linseed oil. . . . One of the forms of paint most extensively used on our coast is the rubber paint, of which 80,000 gallons are consumed annually. It contains some India rubber, and is considered an excellent protection for wood exposed to much moisture [1882:713].

All of the white lead that Hittell refers to here was produced from pig lead at the lead works, since it was the only such factory on the West Coast. Likewise, the rubber paint was made either at the lead works or at the Pacific Rubber Paint Company adjoining Folsom Street on Block 2.

The lead works was the product of the economics of scale: California had grown large enough to support a major, technologically oriented industry devoted to local consumption. Before the construction of the lead works, most heavy industry in the state had been geared to export, either directly, through mining, or indirectly, through manufacturing mining machinery. Whittier and Fuller set out to build a large enough plant to supply the entire paint needs of the Pacific Coast, knowing that the very size of the operation would allow the paint to be sold at a profit at prices low enough to undercut imports. As a result, the lead works obtained, as Hittell points out, a virtual monopoly of the market.

The profits from the lead works were considerable enough to allow the proprietors to live in a style that rivaled the robber barons of the railroads. Fuller had a substantial town house, as well as a comfortable country estate in Saint Helena, far away from the noxious air of the lead works that the inhabitants of Block 3 had to endure. Whittier built one of the most palatial houses in late-19th-century San Francisco, at the corner of Laguna and Jackson in the newly fashionable Pacific Heights district, which reflected the increasing taste of the mercantile class to live apart from the sources of their wealth. The house was one of the most ostentatious 19th-century San Francisco houses to survive the 1906 earthquake and fire; becoming the German Consulate between 1933 and 1941, it was a favored social locus of a considerable section of the city's gentry, and until 1991 it was the equally appropriate home of the California Historical Society.

William Parmer Fuller's son, William Jr., took over the management of Pioneer White Lead after his father's death but spent most of his time at the Saint Helena ranch. He suffered from

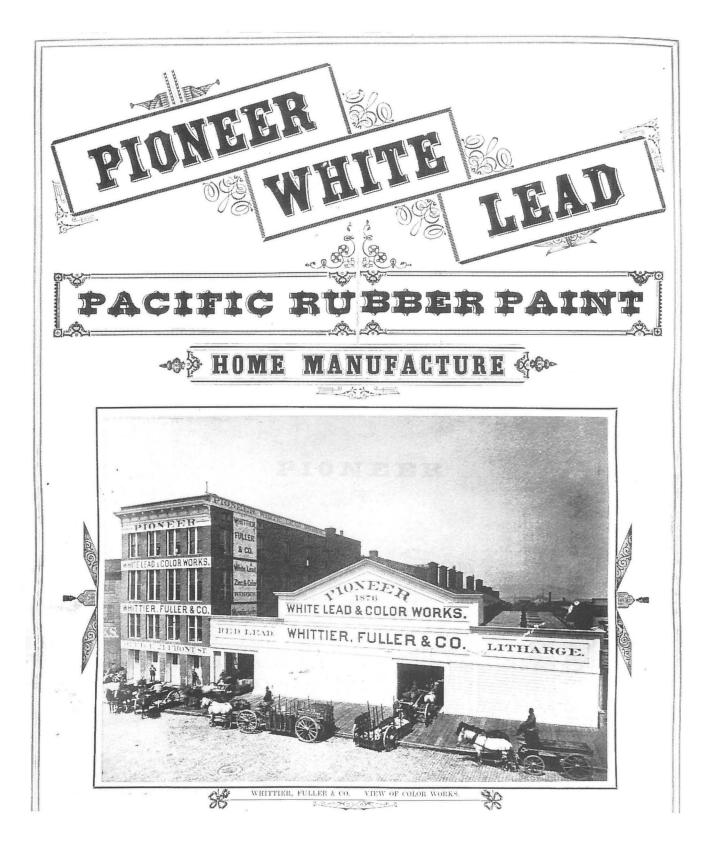


Plate 3.7: The Pioneer White Lead & Color Works . . . Constructed in 1875 and 1876 on Block 3, the works represented the beginning of the chemical industry on the West Coast. On the sidewalk of Fremont Street, we see drays loaded with pig lead moving into the white-fronted shed of the corroding works. Once inside, the pig lead was melted into disks and packed into piles along with tanbark and vinegar, where it underwent a three-month long process of corrosion into white lead. The lead works could offer much-prized steady work because it was the only such plant on the West Coast, and enjoyed a virtual monopoly of the paint business west of the Rockies. The long-term effects of "plumbism," as occupational lead poisoning was then called, could bring to an end a career at the lead works. Once the characteristic paralysis of the wrists and hands appeared, a man could work no more.

Courtesy of the Bancroft Library

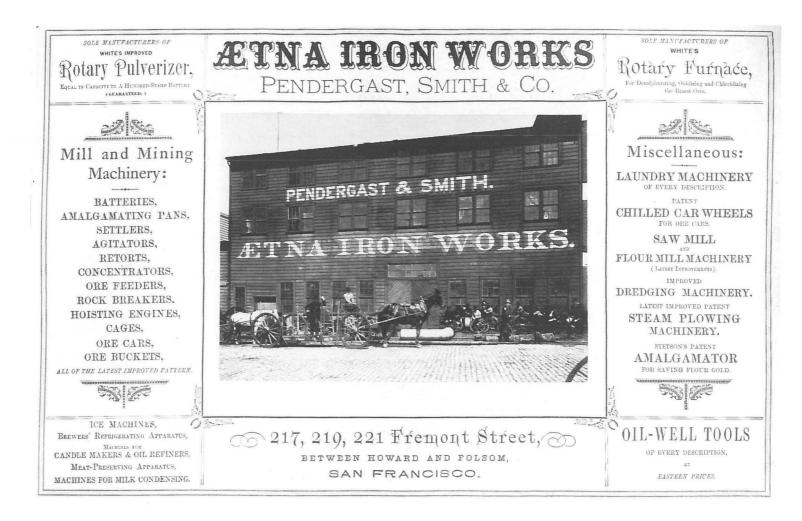
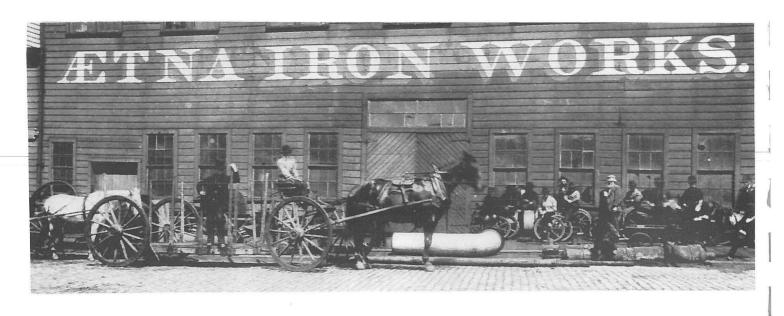


Plate 3.8: The Aetna Iron Works, Block 3 at 217-221 Fremont Street . . . "One of the oldest and most prominent iron manufacturing establishments on the West Coast is the Aetna Iron-works, started on Sutter Street in 1857 by Thomas Pendergast and moved to Fremont Street, between Howard and Folsom. The works include pattern, foundry, blacksmithing, and machine shop departments, supplied with all the complex and fine implements required for a foundry and machine shop of the superior class. The blacksmith shop connects the machine shop with the foundry and has a three-ton hammer. The Foundry is 80-feet long and 40 wide, contains two cupola furnaces capable of melting 15 tons of iron a day. . . . The principal products of the Aetna Iron Works are designed for mining purposes and include engines, boilers, amalgamators, ore-breakers, smelters for reducing argentiferous galena and copper ores, and hoisting and pumping engines. . . . The number of men employed varies from 80 to 120" (Hittell 1882:662). Courtesy of the Bancroft Library



nervous disorders which were relieved by the clean air of the Napa Valley (Fuller 1939:77); his illness was known at the time as "plumbism," or what is today called lead poisoning. For the lead works is historically significant not only as the first large chemical works on the Pacific Coast, but also as an example of the extent to which economic concerns overrode public health concerns. Although Hittell mentions that the lead works incorporated advanced safety features, his description makes it clear that these were more concerned with protecting property than health. The onset of plumbism was insidious: nervousness, mood swings, and increasing eccentricity would only years later give way to the characteristic drooping paralysis of the neck and hands. Once a man's wrists were paralyzed, he could barely take care of his most basic needs, and his tenure of employment at the lead works came to an end. We can only speculate as to the effect of pollution from the lead works on the many children living nearby.

Lead Works Technology The processes that Whittier and Fuller used for the manufacture of white lead were closely based on European and American models, which William Fuller studied while travelling. As his biographer describes:

Before leaving for Europe [in 1872] Fuller had been discussing with his partner the plans for their white lead works. While in England he inspected numerous paint factories, and upon returning to New York he visited still more. He had come home with definite working ideas for the Whittier, Fuller & Company White Lead and Color Works. After one serious delay in their preparation for expansion, caused by the panic of 1873, the firm retained Edward Burnham, an expert in white lead corrosion, to supervise the new project [Fuller 1939:73].

Lead used in the works came from the Selby Smelter in North Beach (Fuller 1939:74), smelted from ores extracted in the process of silver mining. As the Fuller biography explains:

The presence of this large supply of pig lead was the biggest factor in Whittier, Fuller's decision to establish a white lead works in the San Francisco Bay Region in 1875. For a time they purchased their pig lead from the Selby Company, then in the 'eighties, they experimented with smelting their own ores [in Melrose near Oakland] [1939:75].

The company also manufactured its own acetic acid and had a total of 25, 40-ton capacity corroding stacks on the site (Fuller 1939:75). The mirror works was moved to the new factory from the Front Street store, located in the upper floors of the warehouse buildings midway between Howard and Folsom streets. Hittell describes the details of the process of white lead manufacturing:

The Pioneer White Lead and Color Works of Whittier, Fuller & Co. in San Francisco, the only establishment that makes white lead on the Pacific Coast, consist of 2 massive brick buildings connected by a bridge, and were erected in 1875. They cover an area of ground 275 by 137 feet, and extend from Fremont to Beale, between Howard and Folsom streets.

That portion of the factory facing Beale Street is used for the manufacture of white and red lead. Piles of pig lead are on hand awaiting the melting process. The melted lead runs from a furnace upon an endless band of iron molds. In these cases the lead assumes the form of thin disks, 6 inches in diameter, and pierced with holes about one fourth of an inch in size. When cool, these disks are put into earthenware pots with strong acetic acid, but in such a position that the acid does not come in direct contact with the metal. These pots are imbedded in tanbark, in tiers, and each succeeding tier is covered with boards until a stack is built up 25 feet in height. The fermentation of the tan creates a double reaction, caused by the heat generated, and the acid becoming volatilized, changing the lead into an acetate. The acetate again undergoes a change by a combination with the carbonic acid gas evolved by the tanbark, and thus becomes a carbonate of lead.

Three months elapse before the material is ready for further working, but owing to the number of stacks scarcely a day passes that one is not emptied. The carbonate, when ready, is passed over elevators to a crushing and grinding mill, where it is mixed with water; a steam pump conveys the fluid mass to the topmost floor of the factory, where it passes into tanks for the purpose of being precipitated; the residue from the last tank is conveyed to copper drying pans heated by steam.

The pigment is pulverized in its dry condition, then ground three times over in different mills, to secure a complete and uniform mixture with the linseed oil into the best kind of ground white lead ready for the use of the painter. The works have a capacity to produce 20 tons of ground lead in 24 hours, and sometimes run day and night. Besides these extensive departments for the manufacture of the white lead and for grinding it in oil, there are others for making red lead and litharge in furnaces, for grinding colors generally in oil, for making rubber paint and putty, and for the manufacture the acetic acid required in their business. They give employment to 150 men. Their establishment deserves credit for several improvements in the methods of manufacturing white lead, of a character designed to protect the health of the operatives [1882:714].

The processes that Hittell describes in this passage were the traditional methods widely used for manufacturing white lead, a basic lead carbonate, and were commonly referred to as the Dutch method, as opposed to the more advanced German technique. The advantage of this technique for Whittier and Fuller was that it was a relatively simple operation whose raw materials of pig lead and tanbark were readily available, or, in the case of acetic acid,

manufactured on the site. The disadvantage of the Dutch method lay in the amount of time it took to gradually corrode the pig lead into the lead carbonate. The plant had to plan its output several months in advance with an accurate idea of demand, or face either the burden of storing large quantities of surplus white lead, or alternatively of being unable to meet customers' demands. The monopoly position which Pioneer White Lead enjoyed undoubtedly eased this burden considerably.

Of the other processes mentioned by Hittell, red lead was produced by heating pig lead to a high temperature to accelerate oxidation; the resulting red lead oxide was then scraped off. After white lead, red lead was the most common variety of paint used in the late 19th century, especially for painting exposed metal. Litharge, another type of lead oxide, was likewise produced by heating up pig lead, and had a variety of uses in the manufacture of oil varnishes, lead plaster, and lead salts.

Mirror Making In the brick warehouses in the center of the block, Whittier, Fuller carried out mirror manufacturing on an extensive scale, a business in which the firm also enjoyed a monopoly on the West Coast. Whittier had begun manufacturing mirrors at his previous paint importing establishment on Pine Street. The firm continued to advertise mirrors made-to-order in its catalogue published from the new plant in the late 1870s, and also offered mercury for sale to individual consumers in various-sized containers. Mirror making was a delicate process, as Hittell explains:

In 1863, the firm of Cameron, Whittier, and Co. of this city inaugurated the silvering of mirrors as a branch of home industry. They commenced with one operative and one silvering table, but have increased their apparatus until they have three silvering and two polishing tables. . . . They are the only parties engaged in the business on the Pacific Coast, and the advantages offered by the freshness of the process done here has almost entirely stopped the importation of mirrors into this port.

The processing of silvering glass plates is a most interesting one. The . . . imported plates . . . are polished prior to shipment, but the voyage tarnishes the glass so that they have to be repolished here. This is done on wooden tables covered with woolen blankets, rouge powder, and blanket brushes being used to polish with. The greatest care has to be taken in polishing to have it perfectly done. The light is let in from a single aperture so as to fall on the center of the plate, in order that imperfections in the surface of the glass can be detected and removed. The silvering tables are made of white Italian marble, encased in a border of wood, in which is a continuous gutter or trough to catch and convey away the surplus quicksilver.

The table being leveled, a sheet of tin foil is spread on its surface and slight stripes of glass of wood placed along its edged on three sides, with weights to keep the quicksilver from escaping. Quicksilver is now poured on the foil, and an operative, with a long handled blanket brush scrubs the surface of the foil until it looks bright. More quicksilver is then gradually added, till the quantity needed is spread evenly over the foil. . . . The plate of glass is now slid slowly on the table . . . blankets are then placed on the plate, and the source of the glass covered with iron weights varying from 1500 to 2000 pounds. . . . The tin foil which is used here for mirrors comes from England [n.d.:222].

The Lead Works Site, 1896-1906

Fire destroyed the lead works in 1896, together with much of the northern part of Block 3. A comparison of the 1887 Sanborn Map with the 1899 Sanborn Map shows that the Murray Brothers' Machine Shop and all of the small houses along Folsom and Lincoln Place escaped the fire; the remains of the wood-framed corroding sheds of the lead works are gone and the land is vacant. Most of this land would remain vacant until after the 1906 fire, except for the Beale Street portion of the site, occupied in the early years of this century by the C.G. Corson Machine Works at 254 Beale.

The four-story warehouse building occupied by the lead mill, mirror manufactory, and paint stores was gutted in the fire, but was rebuilt and used by the Whittier-Coburn Paint Company. This firm was founded from Whittier's interest in Pioneer White Lead after the dissolution of his partnership with William Fuller in the early 1890s. Fuller retained control of the company, buying out the Whittier family, who obtained the security of the land and buildings of the lead works, which they are shown as owning on the 1894 Handy Block Map. Whittier-Coburn was more of a paint-importing firm than a manufacturer, and it continued to occupy the rebuilt buildings until they were destroyed for a second time in the 1906 fire.

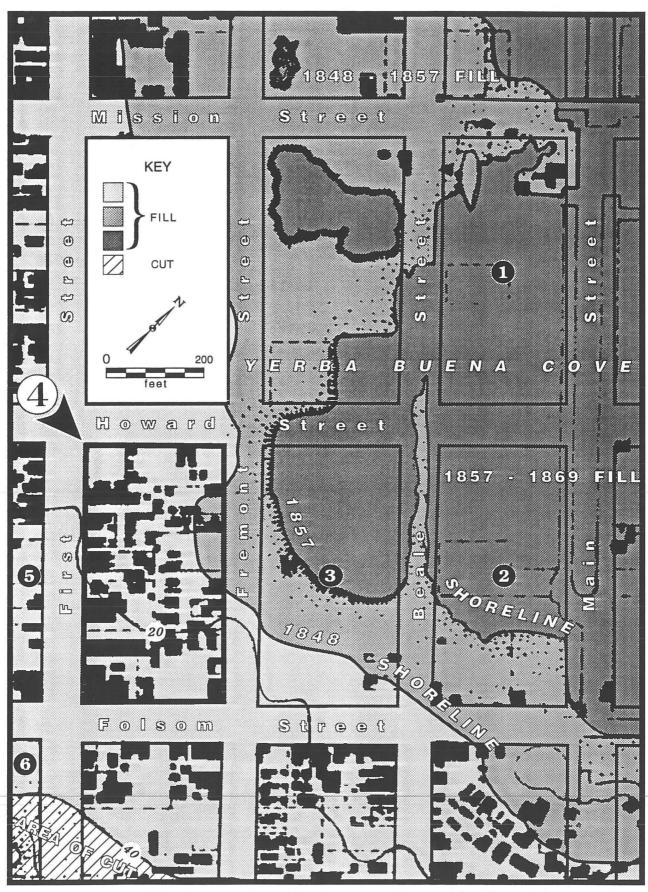
Almost all of Block 3 north of the lead works as far as Howard Street appears to have been burned in the 1896 fire. The 1899 Sanborn Map shows that the two main industries on the block, the Fulton Ironworks, located on Howard and Fremont streets, and the John Hammond Car Shops, established immediately to the north of the lead works in the mid-1880s, have disappeared. Instead, new and smaller metal-working enterprises occupy the Howard Street frontage of Block 3, including the Judson Manufacturing Company, which was in the iron and steel tool-making business; the Union Gas Engine Company, which was one of the first local firms building and repairing gas engines; and the John Finn Metal Works, which was engaged in sheet metal and metal plating work.

Block 3 after 1906

The 1906 earthquake and fire destroyed all of the structures on Block 3; when the block was rebuilt, it no longer had residences abutting industries. Like the rest of Tar Flat, the houses that dated back to the 1860s were already anachronistic long before 1906; new ways of thinking about urban development saw industry and housing as properly belonging in separate districts.

After the 1906 fire, Block 3 was only gradually rebuilt; the 1913 Sanborn Map shows the entire central part of the block still vacant, together with much of the Folsom and Howard Street frontages. The corner of Fremont and Folsom streets, formerly the site of lodging houses and shops, was rebuilt with a substantial brick building that housed the W. T. Garratt Brass Foundry, which had been burned out of its earlier location near the present Transbay Terminal. The Garratt foundry, one of the oldest continuously operating brass foundries in the city, would remain in operation on Block 3 until the 1930s, when it was replaced by a warehouse. To the north of the brass foundry, on Fremont Street, was a wholesale drug warehouse, typical of the new, consumeroriented industries that were established in Tar Flat between 1907 and the 1930s. At 350 Folsom Street a machine shop operated out of a one-story building that, by the 1920s, housed the Examiner Color Printing Works. It was later torn down and replaced by a warehouse. The corner of Folsom and Beale streets long remained vacant, occupied only by an express company, next to which was a coal yard along Beale Street.

In the late 1930s, much of the southern half of Block 3 was cleared of structures for the construction of the Bridge Railway viaduct leading to the Transbay Terminal. The remaining structures on the south half of the block were demolished for the construction of SF-480 in the mid-1950s.



Map 3.7: Topographic Changes, Approximate Areas of Cut and Fill - Block 4 (Based on U.S. Coast Survey 1852/53 and 1857/59)

3.4 BLOCK FOUR: Bounded by First & Fremont, Howard & Folsom Streets

3.4.1 Summary

Block 4 is the earliest site of industries within the SF-480 project area, forming an important part of the first industrial center on the whole of the West Coast. Early iron foundries were established on Block 4 because it was part of the original shoreline of Yerba Buena Cove, with easy access to the bay for shipping and convenient beach sand for casting. By the mid-1860s, much of the block was given over to heavy industry, but significant enclaves of working-class housing remained until the 1906 fire.

This juxtaposition of industry with a cohesive and enduring laboring community makes Block 4 a microcosm of the greater Tar Flat district. Residents located by census and directory research ranged from Irish day laborers living in the Miners' Hotel on First Street, to families of skilled craftsmen and shopkeepers living on Baldwin Court. Most of the adult residents of the block were immigrants, and most were from Ireland. But census data uncovered a surprising diversity of ethnic groups, including substantial numbers of Swedes and Portuguese. Often, families of different nationalities shared the same crowded tenement houses. For the immigrant from a traditional village in Ireland or Scandinavia, life on Block 4 must have involved a great challenge--one which the historian can only speculate about now, since few residents of Tar Flat left written accounts of their way of life.

The industries of Block 4 likewise represented a new way of life. The industrial experience of the mid-19th century was based on gradually developing industries within or near an existing social and economic infrastructure. By contrast, the emergence of the metals industry of Tar Flat took place mainly in the 1860s, bringing San Francisco to the forefront of mining technology anywhere in the world. This technological vanguard is all the more remarkable when San Francisco's geographical isolation from contemporary industrial centers is considered.

3.4.2 Natural Site

Changes on the natural site of Block 4 are unusually well-documented because First Street was a favorite vantage point for early photographers and artists. Map 2.1, the 1852/53 U.S. Coast Survey, shows that Block 4 straddled the original shoreline of Yerba Buena Cove. By the time

the map was surveyed, filling had occurred on Block 4, but the original shoreline is also shown, running from the intersection of Howard and Fremont streets roughly along the alignment of Fremont Street before crossing over to Block 3 approximately 150 feet north of Folsom.

As Plate 2.1 documents, this original shoreline was a beach; behind it, a sandy bluff rose to a height of about 40 feet. Plate 2.3, taken from First and Howard streets in 1852/53, contemporaneously with the Coast Survey Map, shows how this bluff was already being cut down and dumped into the bay on Block 4 to provide level space for buildings, such as the warehouse shown in Plate 2.3c and Map 2.1. At the same time, Folsom Street was graded to approximately its present grade between First and Beale streets. Plate 2.3c shows that this grading extended Folsom Street down an earth and sand embankment along the south edge of Block 4.

This initial filling and grading established the grades of the streets bounding Block 4, while leaving a hollow in the center of the block corresponding to the original topography. An article in the April 16, 1851, San Francisco *Picayune*, quoted in Section 3, details the use of an early steam shovel to transfer sand from the west side of First Street, on Block 5, to the east side, on Block 4, creating building lots along both sides of First Street. But from Plate 2.3c, it would appear that this operation did not extend to filling the rear of the lots on Block 4 along First Street, since the structures towards the center of the block are so far below the street grade of First Street that only their roofs appear in the plate.

Two views, the Otis view drawn from Block 6 in 1855 (Plate 2.8), and a woodcut dated December of 1854 (Plate 2.7), show the extent to which Block 4 had been developed by the end of the building boom of the early 1850s. The majority of the First Street frontage of Block 4 is shown lined by a row of substantial buildings, while the Fremont Street frontage of the block is at a considerably lower level with open water lying beyond it. On Plate 2.7 there appears a smithy or foundry, whose southern wall is approximately 80 feet north of Folsom Street, and is supported on a trestle foundation.

Only with the construction of the Miners' Foundry in 1859-1860, which required a solid and flat foundation, may we infer that the hollow in the middle of Block 4 was largely filled in. Even then, since individual landowners were responsible for bringing their properties up to street grade, low spots may have remained, especially along Folsom Street and Baldwin Court, where small parcels occupied by houses did not require lots level with the street.

The subsequent changes in the topography of the block were mainly in response to the need for industrial and commercial buildings to have level foundations. The Miners' Foundry was the first of these. It occupied the same site from 1859 up through the 1930s, and its post-fire building was demolished in part for the construction of the Bridge Railway viaduct in the late 1930s, and in part for SF-480 in the mid-1950s.

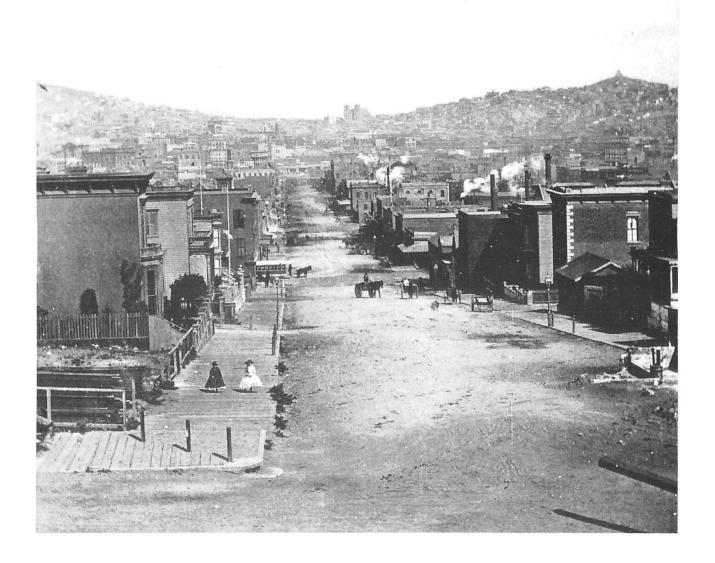


Plate 3.9: Looking Down First Street circa 1863... Taken from the intersection of First and Harrison, this was made as a stereoptical view; given the time it took for exposing a glass-plate negative, it is likely that not only the two little girls, but also the drayman, and indeed the horsecar on Folsom Street, were persuaded to pose for the cameraman.

The panorama of the city shows the tremendous transformation that had taken place in only fifteen years; what were barren sandhills had been graded into broad streets lined by substantial houses. In 1863, San Francisco was in the midst of a building boom fueled by new wealth generated by the rapid expansion of the Comstock mines in Nevada. At the lower left, the piles of lumber mark the beginning of the construction of the elegant Coe house, shown in Plate 2.17; Coe himself was a speculator in Comstock mining stock who had, in the course of two or three years, already made a large enough fortune to display his refined taste on an opulent scale.

Much of the local prosperity generated by the Comstock boom came from manufacturing mining machinery, and most of this machinery was made in the foundries of Tar Flat. Just beyond the intersection of First and Folsom, at the center of the plate, one can discern the smokestacks of the Miners' Foundry; within a year, the 200-foot Selby Shot Tower would be built just north of the foundry.

The close proximity of the heavy industry of Tar Flat to the houses of the wealthy on Rincon Hill reflected the spatial order of the mid-Victorian city, limited by horse-drawn transportation technology; the invention of the cable car allowed the rich to dwell in isolation from the sources of their wealth, and spelled the end of Rincon Hill as San Francisco's most fashionable neighborhood.



Plate 3.10: View From Essex Street on Rincon Hill, Over Tar Flat in 1867... We have included this view because it confirms that Tar Flat was still not filled on Blocks 1 and 2 as late as 1867. At the far right, Ship C can be discerned on Block 1. Main Street remains a wharf just below its juncture with Mission.

This view was made only a short distance above William Babcock's Essex Street house; the unusual semicircle of his roof appears in the foreground, together with the rectangular roof-line that juts out, close to the camera. The flagpole in his front yard passes in front of the cupola of Rincon House (building #14), the boarding house at Folsom and First on Block 5. The top of the Miners' Foundry sign is just visible beyond Rincon House.

Along the Folsom Street frontage are the houses that were constructed on what had been vacant lots in 1855, from Rincon House west towards Rodney Place. These are the structures that appear on the 1887 Sanborn Map of Block 5 from 520 to 518 Folsom, and also appear in the 1868 stereo view (Plate 3.12).

The new landmark in the scene is the Selby Shot Tower (1865), which punctuated the southeast corner of First and Howard streets until the 1906 fire. There, molten lead was dropped 200 feet down into a pool of cold water--the descent gave it time to form into lead shot. A simple application of physics produced the required spherical shape. The San Francisco & Pacific Lead Shot Works were still in operation on Block 4 in 1887. The shot tower burned in the 1906 fire, but a lead smelter and refinery was rebuilt on the site and continued in operation under various owners up through the 1940s on this site on Block 4.

3.4.3 History of Block 4

Early Development, 1849-1860

As Plate 2.1 shows, the beach north of Rincon Point, including Block 4, was used for boat launching and repair from 1850; documentary sources indicate that boat-building began on the shore of Yerba Buena Cove in 1849. In the case of Block 4, the extension of fill to the line of Fremont Street by 1852/53 necessarily brought this early activity to an end, but since Block 3 was not filled until after 1857, the Fremont Street frontage of Block 4 remained oriented towards the bay.

The 1853/53 Coast Survey Chart (Map 2.2) shows several small buildings on Block 4; two of these appear also on Plate 2.3c. One was an L-shaped house set back from Fremont Street, which appears in the lower left-hand corner of Plate 2.3c but had disappeared by 1887. Its site was near the end of Baldwin Court, shown on the 1887 Sanborn Map. A second structure that appears on the 1852/53 Coast Survey and Plate 2.3c was a rectangular shed fronting on Fremont Street midway between Folsom and Howard; it may have survived until 1887 since several "old and vacant" buildings of appropriate size are shown on the 1887 Sanborn Map (Map 3.8) along that part of Fremont Street. Neither of these buildings is in the SF-480 right-of-way.

The 1852/53 Coast Survey Chart also shows two small structures along Folsom Street near its intersection with Fremont, while Plate 2.3c shows several small one-story houses or sheds in the same general location, but considerably below the grade of Folsom Street. From the presence of shrubs and bushes near these small structures, it is clear that they were built on the original elevation of the block, an area that was filled prior to 1887 for the grading of Baldwin Court. This fill extends to a depth of as much as 20 feet.

Comparing the 1852/53 to the 1857/59 Coast Survey maps shows how rapidly Block 4 was built up during the early to mid-1850s. By as early as the December 1854 woodcut, several identifiable metal-working industries had located on the block along First Street; the Otis view shows that these were joined by two- and three-story boarding houses, with a one-story commercial building occupying the corner of First and Folsom. Overlaying the 1887 Sanborn Map onto the 1857/59 Coast Survey has revealed that many of these structures were still standing 30 years later. The early blacksmith shop that appears in the 1855 Otis view and the 1854 woodcut is shown on Map 3.8 as a stable; the one-story commercial building on the corner of First and Folsom has been raised to two stories but still has the same distinctive shape; and a corner grocery store at Folsom and Fremont also appears to have survived until the surveying of the 1887 map.

Founders moved to Block 4 (and the adjacent block to the north) because the sand of the original beach was well-suited to iron casting. In Plate 2.3, several small foundries and blacksmith shops are shown on this adjacent block; with the coming of the Civil War in 1861 and the discovery of the Comstock Mines in 1860-61, these first small metal-working industries were superseded by technologically advanced foundries within the same district, capable of supplying rapidly expanding mining and transportation needs.

First Street, on account of the heavy teaming to and from its boiler works and foundries of early days, is said to have been the first planked street south of Market--exception "old Mission Road".... Some imagination is needed in order to visualize those early iron works of young San Francisco. They did not suddenly sprout up with the size and forges and furnaces of the largest modern plants. They began on a small scale, but the best of them developed rapidly... From small human beginnings, young men from that grimy quarter expanded in much the same manner as its foundries [Fitzhamon 1928].

The Miners' Foundry, 1859-1930s

On Block 4, the most important of the new foundries was the Miners' Foundry, established as a cooperative in 1859. Plate 2.10, a woodcut by William Keith executed in the early 1860s, shows the frontage of the Miners' Foundry along First Street: a series of false-fronted frame buildings with capacious carriageways to allow for the passage of drays bearing heavy equipment.

The earliest reference to the Miners' Foundry is found in the 1860 Langley Directory, with the entry, "Howland, Angell, and King, Miners' Foundry, First near Folsom." Of its three proprietors, Angell and Howland are not listed in earlier directories, but a William King is listed beginning with the first directory in 1854 as a blacksmith with the Sutter Iron Works. A newspaper article from the mid-1860s included in the Hittell Scrapbooks gives the history of the operation up to that time:

The Miners Foundry, established in January, 1860, by Howland, Angell, and King, is located on First Street near Folsom. The first mining machinery for Washoe was turned out here. In addition to that kind of work, this foundry turns out all kinds of machinery, engines, and boilers. About 2,400 tons of pig iron and 200 tons of bar iron are used annually. For the smelting of this pig iron 600 tons of Lehigh [Pennsylvania] coal are used, together with an equal amount from Sydney, Vancouver, and Mount Diablo for other purposes. During the past year 25 steam engines have been turned out at this foundry for mining, saw and flour mills, 250 stamps, with the necessary amalgamating apparatus for the same. A large proportion of their work is to supply the mills with duplicate shoes and dies. Some

sugar mill machinery has been made here within the past year for the Sandwich Islands. . . . Some cotton mill and mining machinery for Mexico has also been made. . . . The proportion of increase [in business] is greater out of state than within. The Miners Foundry employs 150 hands [Hittell n.d.:35].

By 1862 the Miners' Foundry is listed as such, with the address of 249-251 First Street. This listing is expanded in the 1866 Directory to 247-251 First Street. Company advertisements, beginning with the sixth annual circular in 1865, would support an 1859 date as the establishment of the foundry. Included in each annual circular is a woodcut of the frontage of the foundry along First Street, showing four one- to three-story buildings, evidently of wood or sheet-metal clad construction, that occupy the same street frontage shown on the 1887 Sanborn Map. From both the woodcut and the list of products offered, it is evident that, from 1865 at the latest, the Miners' Foundry was a substantial, essentially mature manufactory. By 1870 the address listed is 247-257 First Street. In 1873 the same address is given, but the ownership has changed: Angell remains, but now he is in partnership with Wales L. Palmer, whose dwelling, at 2-4 Essex Place, was only a block away, just off of Folsom Street on Block 6. Between 1875 and 1877, the address is listed in alternate years as 237-247 and 237-251 First Street, indicating merely the listing of different numbers, rather than any site change. In subsequent years to 1887, the 237-257 First Street address is listed consistently in the directories.

With Palmer's acquisition of an interest in the foundry, the name was changed to the Golden State and Miners' Ironworks. The change in name can lead to confusion, since Palmer had previously been, and continued to be, a partner in the Golden State Iron Works at 19-25 First Street, which continued under that name at that site, and was also known as Palmer, Knox, & Co. It is this firm, and not the Miners' Foundry, which occupied a site that had previously been part of the Sutter Iron Works, which had also operated a foundry at the southeast corner of Beale and Folsom streets, shown in photographs from the 1850s (such as Plate 2.3).

Subsequent to 1887, the foundry continued in operation through the 1930s and was listed in the 1914 directory at 249-275 First Street, with William E. Palmer, the son of Wales Palmer, as its president.

Unlike many contemporary enterprises that leased their premises, the Miners' Foundry's site is listed on the 1894 Handy Block Book as owned by Wales Palmer. The ownership of the land is the reason the foundry was reconstructed on the site following the 1906 fire, at a time when other comparable foundries were moving to sites farther away from the downtown area with better rail and water access.

From its beginnings, the Miners' Foundry was conceived as a cooperative venture in which individual inventors would share the same facilities, while still competing against one another.

This unusual arrangement reflected the rapid development of mining technology, in which the Miners' Foundry played a leading role. Many of the Miners' Foundry's craftsmen had been miners themselves in the 1850s, and so had an immediate understanding of miners' needs. The foundry offered a mining-machinery emporium, where miners visiting San Francisco could compare different amalgamating and crushing machines. Customers could even test machinery free of charge in an assaying room, using their own ore samples. Because of this cooperative structure, the range of products made at the Miners' Foundry was exceptionally broad.

The foundry depended on advertisements circulated among its customers in the mining districts. As well as testifying to the quality of the castings produced, the circulars stressed the variety of custom work that was available. Thus, the 1865 circular proclaims that:

We manufacture machinery and iron and brass castings of all kinds, steam engines, high and low pressure, of any required power, horizontal, vertical, and oscillating with every appurtenance. Boilers of every description, cylinder, flue, tubular, upright, locomotive and low pressure; architectural, agricultural, and marine castings and machinery of all kinds made to order. Mills, saw mills, circular, gang, muley, and sash, latest and most approved patterns; flouring mills, complete with all the latest improvements; sugar, malt and bark mills. Machinery for sugar refineries, distilleries, etc., King's patent shingle machine, cutting 1,000 per hour.

Planing, tongue and grooving, morticing, sticking, drilling, pile driving, coining, punching, hoisting, and smut machines are made.

Presses made include: cotton, hay, rag, drop, screw, and hydraulic.

Pumps are produced for mining, fire engines--force and lift, rotary, lifting, force with air chamber.

Miscellaneous products include: balance wheels, car wheels, hand wheels, wheel flanges, pulley flanges, pillar blocks, clamp blocks, spiders for pulleys, cast and wrought iron pipes, shafting, hangers, gearing, mandrels, gudgeons, retorts, melting and soap kettles, coolers for oil, tallow, etc., candle molds, forge backs, tuyer irons, jack screws, fan blowers, derrick irons, segments, cranks, horse powers, wheat screens, edging arbors, slitting arbors, cutting-off arbors.

Quartz mining machinery made includes: quartz mills complete, straight iron batteries, straight and rotary batteries, quartz rollers and crushers, chillian mills, grinders; rock breakers--Blake's and Wheeler's; amalgamators, pans, German barrels, Hungarian bowls; and arastras, separators, concentrators, retorts, ingot molds, quartz mill screens of any required fineness.

Water wheels made to fifty feet in diameter: the center discharge water wheel is cheapest, most simple and effective [water wheel] we make [1865:n.p.].

After the first phase of the Comstock boom ran its course in the 1860s, the Miners' Foundry still further diversified its products. Its 1881 circular looks back on the previous three decades

of innovation in mining machinery, and expresses the realization of the very important role that the foundries of Tar Flat played in that process:

California is justly credited with the honor of having accomplished more during the last thirty years towards perfecting quartz machinery than in the two thousand years preceding. The achievements of the proprietors of the Golden State and Miners' Ironworks in attaining this important result are well attested by the great amount of quartz machinery of their manufacture now working the highest satisfaction to all concerned, in all the principal mining districts of the Pacific States and Territories, Mexico, and Central and South America. Our motto is to keep fully up with the progress of the times, to thoroughly investigate any proposed improvement or invention, and to adopt the best [Randall 1881:n.p.].

In that same year, the 1881 catalogue lists an exhaustive range of products. A partial list is reproduced below to afford some idea of the tremendous diversity of the Miners' Foundry's activities. The variety of their products is especially noteworthy when one considers that all of these various goods were produced in a building of little more than 10,000 square feet:

Castings:

architectural, agricultural, boiler, gear, mining, mill (various), ship, steam engine, street, side walk, work shop, etc.

Steam Engines:

compound, high pressure, horizontal, locomotive, low pressure, marine, etc.; oscillating, portable, propeller, saw mill, stationery, steam boat, vertical.

Steam Engine Fittings:

anchor bolts, condensers, couplings, exhaust pipes, feed pumps, governors, heaters, indicators, oiler, oil cups, hemp, patent, and rubber packing, registers, steam gauges, steam pipes, valves (globe), washers, etc.

Boilers:

Cornish, sectional, horizontal, flue, marine, portable, stationary, tubular, upright, etc.

Boiler Fittings:

blow off cocks, boiler stands, breechings, doors and door linings, single and double fire fronts, fire backs, feed pipes, grate pipes, grate bars, grate rests, mud valves, retention valves, safety valves and scales and weights, smoke stacks, steam gauges and pipes and whistles, water gauge cocks and valves.

Water Wheels:

breast, central discharge, Fourneron, hurdy-gurdy of all the various styles, Jonval, outer discharge, over shot, Poncelet, undershot, etc.

Mills:

bark, chilean, coffee, copper, cotton, flour, gold grist, malt, paper, powder, quartz and quartz prospecting, rice, saw-gang, single and double circular-silver, spice, sugar, woolen, etc.

Machines, for bolting, bolt-sawing, blubber cutting, broom handle saw, dredging, gumming, hand and lath sawing, morticing, nosing, iron and wood planing, punching, shearing, shingle, shaping, smut, sticking, tennoning, tonguing and grooving.

Presses for cloth, cider, cotton, drop, hay, hydraulic, macaroni, oil, screw, scum, vermicelli, wool, wire, etc.

Pumps:

Cornish, force, force and lift, jack head, lift, ship's, steam, etc.

Furnaces:

assayers, calcining, chloridizing, cupola, portable, quicksilver, reverberatory, revolving, roasting, and smelting.

Ouartz Machinery:

agitators, amalgam safes, amalgamating plates, arastras, circular buddles, crucibles, crushing rollers, concentrators dry and wet, single and doubles armed cams, gridiners, prospecting batteries of two stamps, pestles, pan dies, iron and wood quartz mill frames, quicksilver riffles, retorts, and retort stands, rock breakers, revolving blankets, Russia-iron screens.

Grinders and Amalgamators:

guides, german barrels, ingot molds, latches, mortars, mortar dies, mullers and muller shoes, self feeders, separators or settlers, stamp steams, shoes, and heads, shafting, gib and Coleman tappets, wire screens, etc.

Sugar Mill Machinery:

agitators, air pumps, bay filters, blow ups bone mills, centrifugal dryers, charcoal filters, cane and mash carriers, evaporating pans, elephants, heaters, liquor apparatus, animal, steam and water power rolls, pumps, refiners, sugar molds vacuum pans, etc.

Oil Mill Machinery:

Brundell's presses, crushing rolls, edging stones, hydraulic presses, heating pans, oil presses, rumps, refining kettles, etc.

Flour Mill Machinery:

bails, bushes, bolting machines, conveyors, elevators, exhaust fans, gearing, hoisting screws, improved moll spindles, mill stones, portable grist mill, proof staves, separators, silent feed, smut machines, etc.

Saw Mill, Wood Cutting and Stone Machinery:

arbor boxes, band saws, belt feed, carriage mountings, carriage rolls, cut-off arbors, circular saws, edging arbors, friction feed, frame or gate saws, Gilchrist's saws, haul up gear, hand cross cut

saws, improved guides, head blocks, and self acting feed and backing motion saws; marble, Merriman's, muley, re-cutting saws, rubber beds, saw frames, sliding arbors, sweep sash saws, swing cross cut saws, turn over gear, etc.

Hoisting Machinery:

capstans, derrick cranes, friction gear hoists, hydraulic hoists, and elevators, steam elevators, spur gear hoists, windlasses, whims, etc.

Hydraulic Mining Machinery:

distributors, hose pipes, hydraulic hose covering, hurdy gurdy derricks, little giants, monitors, nozzles, water pipes

Retorts, stills, and molds. . . .

Ship castings and ship work. . . .

Casting and machinery for various purposes [Randall 1881:n.p.].

What is most remarkable is that this wide variety of machinery was produced in a very modest structure on a small site on Block 4. By 1865 the foundry occupied essentially the same site that is shown on Map 3.8, the 1887 Sanborn Map; the circular of that year states that the premises had been recently expanded. Early pictures and woodcuts, such as Plate 2.10, show a jumble of false-front frame buildings along First Street; these extended back as far as Baldwin Court in two places, but for the most part were only 100 feet deep (a rare rear view of the foundry, taken from the Selby Shot Tower, appears in Plate 2.15). Most of these structures, as shown on the Sanborn Map, had earth floors--the common floor surface for foundries at the time. The structure shown on the 1887 Sanborn Map was destroyed in the 1906 fire, but was rebuilt essentially unchanged after the fire, continuing in business until the 1930s.

The importance of the Miners' Foundry to the development of mining technology gives it great historical significance; the unprecedented long period (for San Francisco) in which it remained in operation on the same site gives it added significance, especially since, aside from highway footings, the site appears to remain essentially undisturbed since the foundry's closing.

Several important artifacts from the Miners' Foundry remain extant in collections of 19th century machinery; in Willits, the Roots of Industry Foundation possesses an especially large and well-preserved stationary engine with a 16-foot diameter flywheel.

Other Block 4 Industries, 1858-1906

The Miners' Foundry is the only major industry directly in the right-of-way of SF-480 on Block 4, but several small industries occupied frame buildings along Fremont Street before the 1906 fire. The Metropolitan Ironworks had been located at 228-230 Fremont Street since the

1870s under the proprietorship of Curtis Tobey. In the early 1880s, this foundry was joined by the Western Ironworks, immediately adjacent to the south, at 232-234 Fremont, which continued in operation until 1906. The Metropolitan Ironworks, however, moved from its Fremont Street site before the publication of the 1887 Sanborn Map.

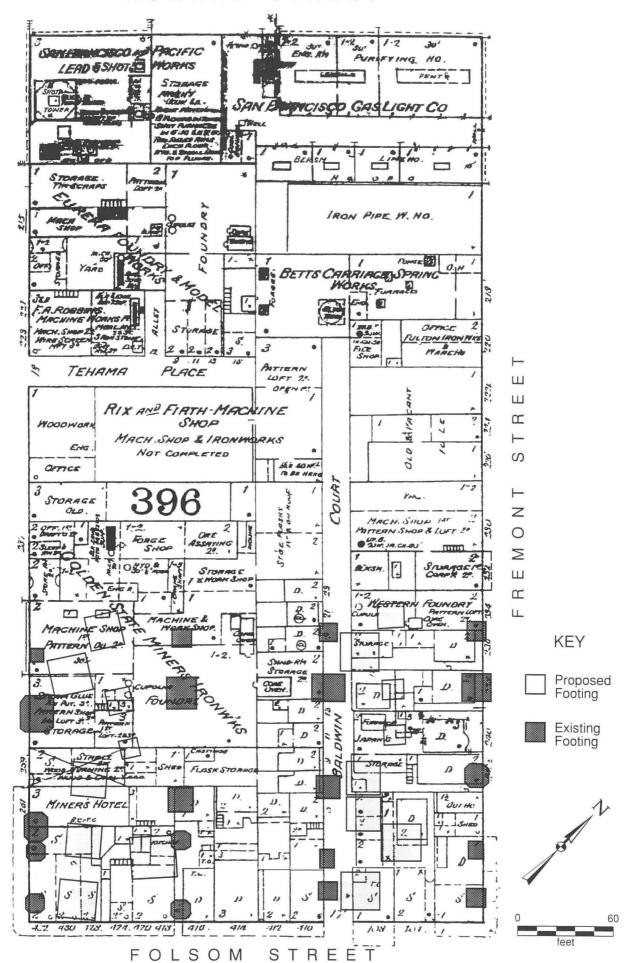
Still closer to Folsom Street, a Japannery, one of three on the Pacific Coast in the 1880s, was operated by Charles R. Short in a converted residence at 240 Fremont. Japanning consisted in the application of lacquer to a wood, metal, or leather base. Hittell explains the japanning process:

Japanning, as done on the coast, consists in applying varnish to tinned or plain sheet-iron ware, and drying in a heated oven. Ordinary articles, as the cheaper kinds of tinware, receive a single coat, but the better class of goods are treated several times; each coat being heated, and when hardened, polished by hand with powder. Further ornamentations is added, in the form of gilding, or painting with bright colors [1882:681].

The process of Japanning encompassed several different industrial techniques, including the application of asphalt-based and colored metal lacquers which were baked-on in an oven, shown on the 1887 Sanborn Map in the rear yard of 240 Fremont.

The north half of the block, outside of the SF-480 alignment, was entirely devoted to the metals industries before the 1906 fire. At the corner of Howard and First streets on Block 4, the Selby Shot Tower, seen in Plates 2.11, 3.4, and 3.10, was one of the most prominent landmarks of 19th-century San Francisco. The works was established by Thomas Selby in 1865 to produce lead products, then in short supply because of the great demands of the Civil War, and occupied a three-story brick building 70 by 80 feet on the corner of First and Howard. The shot tower was 200 feet tall; molten lead dripped from its top platform into a pool of water at the base, assuming the necessary spherical shape in the course of its descent. A one-story shed building, 50 by 80 feet, adjoined the main structure east along Howard Street. In addition to lead shot, Selby produced lead pipe, wire, sash, bullets, and sheets and pipe of block-tin (tin alloyed with a small proportion of antimony), solder, and Babbitt metal (Hittell 1882:688).

The actual smelting of lead and antimony ores was carried out by Selby in a smelter in North Beach, not on Block 4; because contemporary chroniclers, such as Hittell, did not clearly differentiate between the Selby works operations at the two sites, we cannot be certain which manufacturing processes--apart from lead shot manufacture--were carried out on Block 4. Pig lead was brought to the lead works from the smelter and melted down in what the 1887 Sanborn Map describes as a "shot furnace." The 1887 and 1899 Sanborn maps show a number of other lead furnaces, not only on the ground floor, but also on the first and second floors of this building.



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Map 3.8: Block 4, 1887 Sanborn Map, Showing Proposed and Existing Footings

Thus, we may infer that other lead articles were manufactured in the building, apart from its main production of shot.

The success of the Selby works can be seen in its successive expansion into larger buildings on Block 4. The one-story addition to the original shot tower structure was replaced in the 1890s by a large three-story brick building with a basement; the original building was then shown with a basement extending out under the sidewalk. This new configuration allowed for different manufacturing activities to be carried out on separate floors: thus, lead was melted on the third floor, finished shot was sifted and polished on the second, and then, stored on the first.

Destroyed in the 1906 earthquake, the Selby works were rebuilt to include a lead smelter on the same site, but the shot tower was not reconstructed.

The other industries on Block 4 included iron foundries, machine and tool works, and one non-ferrous metal smelter. The Eureka Foundry at 215 First Street, immediately south of the Selby Works and extending midway towards Fremont Street, operated as an iron foundry from the 1870s until the early 1890s; at that time the rear foundry section of the building was taken over by the Mechanics' Foundry, which conducted iron founding there until 1906.

At 221-223 First Street, the Aetna Ironworks was in operation until the mid-1880s in a three-story frame structure shown on Plate 3.8; by the time the 1887 Sanborn Map was published, the Aetna works had moved and the building was occupied by the Roberts Machine Shop. Hittell gives a good description of the Aetna Ironworks:

One of the oldest and most prominent iron manufacturing establishments on our coast is the Aetna Ironworks started on Sutter Street, between Montgomery and Sansome in 1857, by Thomas Pendergast, and moved to the present site at 217-221 Fremont Street, between Howard and Folsom, in San Francisco. The works include pattern, foundry, blacksmithing, and machine shop departments, supplied with all the complex and fine implements required for a foundry and machine shop of the superior class. The blacksmith shop connects the machine shop with the foundry, and has a 3-ton hammer. The foundry is 80 feet long and 40 wide, with an L, and contains 2 cupola furnaces, capable of melting 15 tons of iron daily. The machine-shop, occupying the main building, 90 feet long, 80 wide, and 3 stories high, embraces all the latest improvements in heavy tools, such as lathes, boring, planing, and slotting machines. The principal products of the Aetna Ironworks are designed for mining purposes, and include engines, boilers, amalgamators, ore-breakers, smelters for reducing argentiferous galena and copper ores, and hoisting and pumping engines. The White Rotary Furnace, of which George W. White is the inventor and sole owner, is manufactured exclusively in this establishment, of which the present proprietors are Thomas Pendergast, James Pendergast, and George Johnson. The number of men employed varied from 80 to 120 [1882:662].

Across Tehema Place, immediately to the north of the Miners' Foundry, the Rix & Firth Machine Shop occupied a large frame structure; in the 1890s, this became a branch of the Union Ironworks, while remaining a machine shop.

Along Fremont Street, the former Gas Works Purifying House on the corner of Howard and Fremont was replaced in the late 1890s by the Abner Doble Tool Works, which remained in operation until after 1906. At 218 Fremont Street, the Betts Spring Company manufactured iron and steel springs for carriages, drays, and railway cars. Essentially, the Betts works operated as a highly specialized foundry and machine shop, producing the finished springs, step-by-step, from pig iron melted in furnaces on the premises. Hittell describes the Betts works:

The only wagon spring factory west of the Rocky Mountains is that of the Betts Spring Company in San Francisco, located at 218 Fremont Street, with a frontage of 70 feet and a depth of 138 feet, where all kinds of steel springs, from the locomotive to the baby carriage, are manufactured. The factory was started in 1868 by William M. Betts, the head of the establishment, and a practical mechanic. Eighteen men are employed at wages averaging \$2.75 per day. They import their steel from the Eastern States, and occasionally from Europe; and about 80 tons were worked up last year. A heavy item of expense, which puts this company at a disadvantage compared with Eastern factories, is the price of anthracite coal, which is imported from Pennsylvania at a cost of \$13 per ton. However, the business is prospering and gradually extending, small shipments having been made to China, Japan, and Mexico [1882:674].

The Social Matrix of the Foundries

The workers in the iron foundries and machine shops in San Francisco were among the best paid industrial workmen anywhere in the 19th century. The work was hard and demanding. It required skill as well as strength, and skilled ironworkers were difficult to find in San Francisco in the 1850s and 1860s. As a result, the foundrymen were exceptionally well paid by the standards of the time. As Shumsky notes, "wages of foundrymen were at a 458:100 ratio compared to the Mid-Atlantic states in 1860--the highest by almost a factor of two of any class of wages listed" (1972:36).

The high wages and the concentration of the iron-working industry in the vicinity of Block 4 engendered a degree of social cohesiveness; some foundrymen went on to achieve prominence in San Francisco. Describing in the 1920s the early years of iron-working in San Francisco. Fitzhamon recalls that:

William J. Biggy, who worked there as a molder in young manhood, rose to be Chief of Police of San Francisco.

Mike Fisher, of baseball renown and wealth, was a product of "the works" where he toiled as a keen young machinist and quickly became known for fleetness of foot.

Ed Harrigan, of stage fame, as creator of gaiety and laughter by his arts as low comedian, had practiced his stuff on the corners and alleys before many a sweaty black-gang, from which he sometimes extracted no more than a dime needed for a pail of beer.

Many men of splendid physique were developed along that black belt. Physical types such as are portrayed so realistically in the Donahue monument at Bush and Market.

Foot racing was a favorite diversion. It was called foot racing in those days; not track athletics. No matter whether it came off on regulation cinder path or down a street.

Jack Biggy, when a young molder, was backed by his gang to run against young Mike Fisher, backed by the machinists.

Mike Fisher romped home in front.

Bill Biggy, brother of Jack, then allowed that he could show his heels to the young machinist.

Again Mike won easily.

According to veterans of the iron works of First Street, nobody ever took a heat from Mike Fisher. Not even when rival works sent far afield for some real speed to lurk around disguised in grimy overall until matched with Mike.

Whenever disagreements arose they were referred to Judge Orville C. Platt of Twelfth District Court, whose residence was 213 First Street, just south of Selby Shot Tower, and who became the Landis of that area [1928:n.p.].

Block 4 Residents, 1860-1905

From the early 1850s up through the 1870s, several large boarding houses were interspersed between foundries and blacksmith shops along First Street, together with a few single family homes, such as that of Judge Platt mentioned in Fitzhamon's recollection. Still more dwellings were located along Fremont Street, dating back to the mid- to late-1850s, again mixed with an increasing amount of industry. Only Folsom and Baldwin Court--a narrow dead-end alley running north off Folsom--had a decidedly residential character from the late 1850s up until the 1906 fire.

The juxtaposition of very crowded residential enclaves with heavy industry on Block 4 initially led researchers to believe that Block 4 might have been inhabited by increasingly impoverished residents after 1860. The houses on Block 4, especially those on Baldwin Court, were small by the standards of the times and lacking in common amenities. Historical research does generally support the assumption that most families in the second half of the 19th century preferred to live

in residential neighborhoods rather than industrial districts. Residents of Block 4 had to tolerate noise and smoke from the many iron foundries, the nearby gasworks (which commentators described as especially noxious), and the Pioneer White Lead Works on the adjacent Block 3.

Surprisingly, many of Block 4's residents lived there for long time--some even for several decades. Nor were they mostly poor and unskilled laborers. Many were skilled workers in comparatively well-paid crafts. Although most of the small houses were home to several families, and many families took in boarders to help pay rent, the census information does not support a picture of social despair. A large proportion of children attended school, and although their families may have been relatively poor, they do not appear to be any more so than families living further to the west in larger houses located farther away from the industries of Tar Flat (Olmsted et al., 1979).

As a result, analysis of census and directory information does not fully support the hypothesis that Tar Flat dwellers were a social level below the rest of the working class South of Market district. It may well be that the residents of Block 4 were largely indifferent both to industrial pollution and to crowded living conditions. Certainly, those who had a strong aversion to noise and soot would have moved elsewhere.

Residents of First Street

Plate 2.8, the 1855 Otis view, shows that First Street on Block 4 between Howard and Folsom was mostly lined with two- and three-story boarding houses, with several industrial and commercial buildings. These boarding houses, of the cheapest wood-frame construction, were built in response to the need for mostly single men to find relatively cheap accommodations that were near the places where they worked. In addition to the Otis view, early photographs, such as Plate 2.3c, reveal that these residential hotels and lodging houses were often quite large buildings. Census information from 1860 reveals that the boarding houses on First Street housed a diverse assortment of laborers, mechanics, engineers, sailors, and other occupations, but since the 1860 census does not list street addresses, individual boarding houses cannot be located without further research to match names with addresses in business directories.

By 1867, when Plate 2.11 was taken, looking down First Street from the corner of Folsom, industries had replaced most of these houses; with the growth of foundries, almost all of the First Street frontage of Block 4 would become non-residential by the 1880s. One likely reason for this change is that the boarding houses built in the 1850s were constructed as cheaply and quickly as possible for maximum profit in a city short on housing. By the 1860s and 1870s, they may well have been too dilapidated to bring a higher rate of return than the value of their lots as

industrial sites. In other words, it was cheaper for industries to tear down boarding houses rather than pay for filling water lots elsewhere.

One exception to the trend towards industry on First Street was the Miners' Hotel, a three-story brick building constructed between 1880 and 1887 on the site of a furniture factory located between one of the first foundries or blacksmith shops on the block, on its north, and a one-story block of shops on the corner of First and Folsom. The Miners' Hotel received its name from the nearby Miners' Foundry, but it was not an hotel for visiting miners or foundry workers. 1900 census information lists 26 residents, all of whom were Irish: 18 of the adults were born in Ireland, while 5 were American-born of Irish parents. Three of the residents were women: the 33-year-old housekeeper, married with three children, ages 4 to 8, and two servants, ages 20 and 22, who worked as waitresses in the hotel's dining room. All of the lodgers were men, ranging in age from 24 to 71, with an average age of about 37-1/2. With the exception of one sailor, and a waiter and a cook who worked as servants in the hotel, all these men listed their occupation as "day laborer"--meaning that they were casual laborers, as opposed to steady workers at the foundries or other industries. Of 18 day laborers, 16 had been unemployed in the previous year for 1 to 2 months.

The Miners' Hotel presents a clear contrast to the earlier boarding houses of the 1850s and 1860s. The earlier houses had a varied mix of residents, while the Miners' Hotel was entirely Irish. The homogeneity of the Miners' Hotel is in great contrast to the ethnic diversity of the Baldwin Court enclave, where Irish families lived in the same houses with Swedes, Germans, Jews, and Portuguese. The occupational homogeneity is also striking. Day laborers were towards the bottom of the internal working-class social hierarchy, since they possessed neither specialized skills nor steady unskilled work. It is noteworthy that there were few young men in the group, despite the fact in 1900 there were many second generation Irishmen who had been born and grew up in the South of Market district. From the standpoint of historical significance, the Miners' Hotel illustrates less the persistence than the emergence of a subculture based on national identity outside the assimilating upwardly mobile Irish community of San Francisco. Further historical research to trace the residents identified in the 1900 census would yield a more detailed picture of their occupational and geographical mobility.

Baldwin Court

Although Baldwin Court is not shown as an open street on the 1857/59 Coast Survey, its rough outlines are marked by a row of cottages. Some of these houses may have survived to appear on the 1887 Sanborn Map (Map 3.8), but these cannot be identified. Since the portion of

Block 4 traversed by Baldwin Court was filled and raised during and after the mid-1850s, remains of occupation from the 1850s may be stratified under the houses shown on the 1887 Sanborn Map.

The northern dead end of Baldwin Court was lined with industrial sheds mainly used for pattern storage. The small back yards of houses in the central section of the street adjoined the rear of the Miners' Foundry to the west, while some of those on the east side had already been converted to industrial uses by 1887.

The proximity of the concentration of small tenements on Baldwin Court to the many nearby industries recalls 19th-century company housing, but land title research has shown that the residential lots were mainly owned by private landlords and not by nearby foundries and machine shops. There were even some owner-occupants living on Baldwin Court in the last two decades of the 19th century, when industrial activity on the block was at its height.

Census and business directory research does not support the supposition that most men who lived on Baldwin Court worked in the foundries; only a small proportion of Block 4 residents on which information is available between 1860 and 1900 list their occupation as "molder," "machinist," "foundryman," or "blacksmith." Partly, this is because of the very general occupational terms common at the time--an unknown proportion of the very large number of men listed as "laborers" may have worked in relatively menial capacities in large industries.

One possible explanation for this apparent discrepancy is that most married foundrymen with steady work could afford to live away from Tar Flat in more pleasant surroundings, commuting to work on the convenient horsecar lines that were in operation by the early 1860s--including one along First Street. An iron molder might begin as a young apprentice living in a boarding house, or he might room with a family near his work, but if he were successful he would often move farther out into the Mission District or to the new suburbs of the Western Addition. By contrast, 10 to 20 cents a day in car fare represented a formidable expense for day laborers. Census and directory information does show that a very large proportion of Block 4 residents were of Irish birth; the proportion grows still greater if one excludes from consideration residents who were local shopkeepers, mainly of German or Jewish extraction. Many of these Irish residents were members of large families living in very small tenement houses along Baldwin Court. Most of the houses on Baldwin Court were less than 20 feet wide; and in many cases still smaller outbuildings were also used as dwellings (identifiable both by the presence of stoves shown on Map 3.8 and by analysis of census information).

Census information has shown that the tenements on Baldwin Court were crowded even by the standards of South of Market San Francisco--the houses were smaller, and most had more occupants than did similar dwellings in the blocks several blocks to the west at the same time (Olmsted et al., 1979). Because extant maps show street numbers only for houses on the west side of Baldwin Court, it has not been possible to precisely locate many of the families listed in the 1880 and 1900 censuses, but since all of the houses were roughly similar in size, it is evident that rarely did a single family inhabit more than one floor of a house. Comparing census and Sanborn Map information shows that gross (as opposed to usable) living space averaged not much more than 100 square feet per person. In many cases, usable space was considerably less.

The crowded living conditions were made worse by the absence of water and sewer lines on Baldwin Court. Water was extremely expensive in 19th-century San Francisco. Because an entire infrastructure of utilities had to be constructed from scratch beginning in the mid-1850s, only major streets and well-to-do areas had piped-in water. As Henry George wrote:

Water in San Francisco costs more than bread, more than light; it is a very serious item in the living expenses of every family, and one of the large expenses of every manufacturing establishment. There is no large city in the civilized world where water costs so much. And even then the supply is neither as good nor as plentiful as it should be [*The State*, June 7, 1879].

One reason for the early popularity of Rincon Hill as an elite neighborhood was the fact that good water was available from fairly shallow wells there. On an alley like Baldwin Court, residents had to make do with water fetched by hand or delivered by drays. Roxburgh recalls:

In the old days before the Spring Valley Water Company extended its pipe lines South of Market, the residents of the District depended upon the water cart for its household requirement. One of these institutions was owned by Joe Fairfield, and his establishment consisted of a large barrel or pipe mounted on two wheels and drawn by a horse. The minimum amount Joe would sell was twenty gallons, which was measured out in five gallon containers and then poured into the purchaser's barrel.

Old Tom Tierney had three children and lived at 24 Folsom where he had a well which supplied his neighbors. In those days, mother bathed us on Saturday night in the family wash tub and when we got a little prosperous, a tin bath tub was purchased which was hung outside of the kitchen door to the envy of the neighbors. Well, it took a large amount of water to keep us youngsters clean which, I believe, was responsible for Tom Tierney's well going dry. With this advent, Joe Fairfield got a new customer, but the twenty gallons he supplied were far from sufficient to bathe us all and leave a surplus for wash day, Monday. We had a lot of fun, however, toting water from the cemetery at Seventh and Market down to the house and it was necessary to make several trips to fill the barrel [South of Market Journal, November 1926:11].

Census and voter registration materials from the 1860s up through the 1870 census are not listed by street address, but the aggregate social character of Baldwin Court in those years may be inferred from the data that exists. In 1860, of the six families recorded as dwelling on Baldwin Court, one was Scotch, one English, and one was an American family from New England; the other three families were Irish, as were all but one of the five single individuals living on Baldwin Court at the time. Three of the men worked as stone cutters and three as laborers; one Irish women supported her three children washing clothes. The single well-to-do resident of Baldwin Court at the time was the one native-born American, Joseph Corliss, a stonecutter who lived on the east side of the court with his wife Ellen, born in Ireland, and four children; Joseph Corliss had a personal estate valued in the census at \$4000, and owned real estate valued at \$9000. By 1870 Joseph Corliss is no longer listed, but his wife Ellen is shown keeping house and owning real estate valued at \$15,000; in 1870 her son Joseph W. Corliss had reached the age of 14 and was apprenticed to a watchmaker.

Directory information from 1859 and 1861 yields more individuals with a broader range of occupations, including a blacksmith, an iron molder, two saw makers, two firemen at the gasworks, an engineer, three mariners, and a miner, as well as several widows. Some of these men worked in the immediate neighborhood--the gas works were at the corner of Howard and Fremont streets, partly on Block 4; others, such as those in the maritime trades, did not work in nearby industries. It should be kept in mind that directory information is somewhat slanted towards skilled tradesmen, who needed to be listed, as opposed to day laborers, who were seldom hired from such listings.

By 1870 the population of Baldwin Court was more solidly Irish than a decade before; of the 10 families listed in the 1870 census, all but one German man were Irish. Four of the men worked as laborers, one as a candy maker, and one as a typesetter. Seven of the 15 adults were listed as illiterate--one of the few instances that has come to light where census takers even asked this question with regularity. Between 1860 and 1870, despite the small number of families listed, there is a clear decline in social level of Baldwin Court, with fewer skilled workers than in 1860 and no native-born Americans living on the street. Nevertheless, even children from illiterate parents are shown as attending school, including several children over the age of 12, who might reasonably have been expected to work. Clearly, although poverty did exist on Baldwin Court, it was not so extreme as to require the labor of all family members capable of work.

The 1880 census does list street addresses, while the 1887 Sanborn Map only lists addresses for the west side of Baldwin Court, outside of the area impacted by SF-480 footings. At 7 Baldwin Court in 1880, 11 people lived in a two-story house approximately 15 feet wide by 25 feet long. One floor of the house was run as a boarding house by Annie Johnson, a 50-year-old

married immigrant from Sweden; living with her were Annie Abram, a 43-year-old single immigrant from Sweden with no occupation listed in the census, and an Irish couple, Patrick and Annie Jeffon, both age 50; Patrick Jeffon worked as a laborer and Annie kept house. Another floor of the same tiny house was occupied by the McDonald family: John McDonald was a 35-year-old safe maker from Nova Scotia; his wife Kate was 30 and born in Ireland. Their three sons, ages 3, 6, and 8, were all born in California. But this family of five did not have even an entire floor to themselves; to help pay the rent they had two single boarders from Nova Scotia: John McKeever, a 34-year-old teamster, and Alexander McLeod, a 35-year-old sailor.

The inhabitants of 7 Baldwin Court are notable in that they were among the more prosperous dwellers of Block 4 in 1880. John McDonald's job as a safe maker was a skilled and relatively well-paid occupation, and none of the inhabitants of the house was listed as unemployed for the preceding year.

One way that some working-class people in 19th-century San Francisco endured crowded and unpleasant housing was to move frequently; even if the new dwelling differed little from the old, still it was a change. Yet on Baldwin Court several families remained in residence in the same houses for a decade or more.

The 1870 census lists the Blansfield family as dwelling at 14 Baldwin Court. James Blansfield was a 35-year-old laborer of Irish birth; his 35-year-old wife, Ellen, was also Irish. The Blansfields had just moved to San Francisco in 1870; their four children, ranging in age from 1 to 7, were all born in Washington, D.C. In the 1880 census James Blansfield is no longer listed, but Ellen is shown as married and keeping house at 14 Baldwin Court; in the intervening decade her listed age had only advanced five years, to 40. The three eldest sons listed in the 1870 census are all listed in 1880 as attending school; their ages range from 13 to 17; the youngest son in 1870 had apparently died by 1880. Two additional daughters had been born to Ellen Blansfield by 1880, both of whom attended school as well.

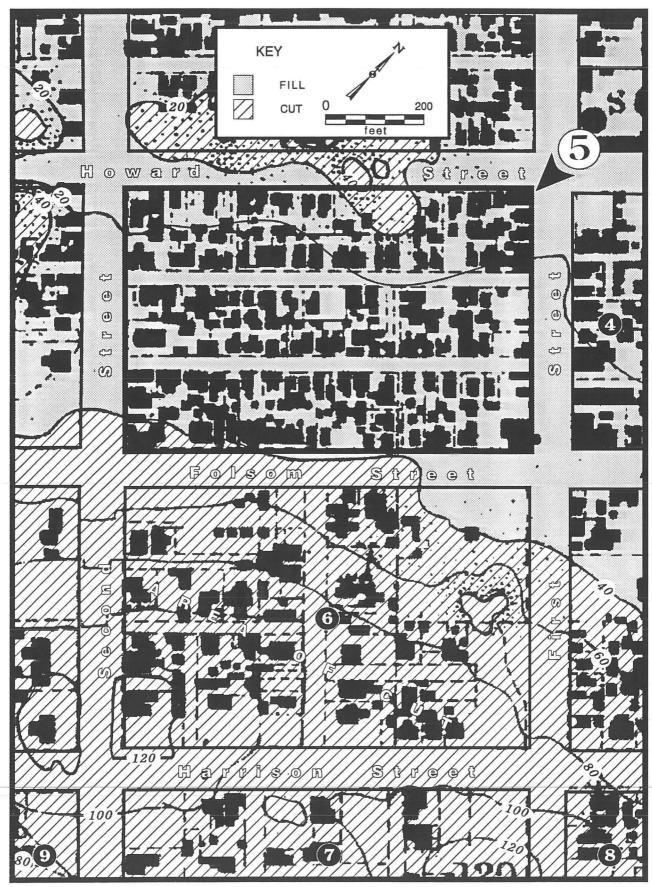
If the Blansfields were a relatively prosperous working-class family by 1880, having a house to themselves, their neighbors at 18 Baldwin Court were not. Part of 18 Baldwin Court was occupied in 1880 by the Quick family. Patrick Quick was a 24-year-old laborer born in Ireland, married to Amy, who was 32 and also Irish. Patrick must have married his wife when he was quite young, since the oldest of their four children (all born in California) was already nine by 1880. The Quick family shared number 18 with the Sullivans, who were very similar socially. John Sullivan was a 40-year-old Irish laborer married to Anna, age 30 and also Irish; their seven children ranged in age from 1 to 15. To help support the expense of such a large family, the eldest daughter worked as a dressmaker, but three of the other children attended school. By contrast, only one couple and a single boarder lived at 18 Baldwin Court in 1870, though the

house may have been expanded in the intervening decade.

Not all of the inhabitants of Baldwin Court were renters; a few of the families listed in the census are also shown as property owners on the 1894 Handy Block Book. For example, at 23 Baldwin Court the Gould family is listed both in the 1880 census and the 1894 Handy Block Book. In 1880 Richard Gould was a 30-year-old Irish-born laborer who had lived in the United States since 1873; the business directory of that year listed him as a flask-maker at the Metropolitan Foundry--an example of the very general "laborer" category in the census, since flask-making was a skilled trade. Gould had been married since about 1878, but his wife apparently lived elsewhere, since she was not listed in the census. Gould's children included a 2-year-old daughter and two 9-month old daughters; the 1880 directory listed a boarder, Daniel Goodwin, a laborer, living at the same address. Although Gould was only thirty in 1880, and had been unemployed for four months in the preceding year, it is quite possible that he already owned his house. He certainly did so by 1894; he appears in the 1900 census, again as a laborer who had been unemployed for the previous year.

In general, the 1900 census data on Baldwin Court differs from that of the 1880 census only in that the number of households is somewhat smaller, reflecting the replacement of houses towards the north end of the court with storage areas for foundries fronting on the major streets. The Irish still predominate in 1900, though with an increasing mixture of Scandinavians, many of whom worked as carpenters and sailors.

There is no way of knowing whether the Baldwin Court enclave would have continued to exist as a working-class residential pocket neighborhood in an increasingly industrial district in the 20th century; the 1906 fire destroyed all of Block 4, and after the fire it was rebuilt almost exclusively for industry.



Map 3.9: Topographic Changes, Approximate Areas of Cut and Fill - Block 5 (Based on U.S. Coast Survey 1852/53 and 1857/59)

3.5 BLOCK FIVE: Bounded by Howard & Folsom, Second & First Streets

3.5.1 Summary

The southeastern portion of Block 5 is an area of high archaeological potential that will be impacted by planned footings of SF-480. Research has dated structures on this area to as early as 1853 which were still extant until they were destroyed by the 1906 fire. Other structures have been identified as being occupied as early as 1859 and 1861; many of these buildings were also in place as residences up until 1906.

The section of the block under consideration may be divided in three distinct zones: (1) Rincon House, at the corner of Folsom and First streets; (2) the row of shops, with dwellings above, on First Street north of Rincon House as far as Clementina (250-268 First Street); (3) the row of houses along Folsom west of First Street towards Rodney Place (504-518 Folsom).

Of all the blocks in the survey area, Block 5 was the most densely populated for the longest period of time; it also appears to have had the widest range of socioeconomic groups of any block in the survey area. Certain findings from earlier historical surveys of the 11-block Yerba Buena Center, which lies one block to the west (Olmsted et al. 1979), are validated or repeated on this block. For example, prime commercial corner real estate appears to have been frequently owned by Germans, running grocery, butcher, and liquor "general stores." Another generalization can be made: the central main streets in flat areas, such as Folsom, tend to be predictors of higher social class as compared to smaller back streets, such as Clementina and Tehama. In hill-top areas, such as Essex and Guy Place, addresses towards the "top of the hill" were more valuable as building lots than those at lower elevations. Block 5 is an example within this study area of the validation of these earlier findings

3.5.2 Natural Site

At the time of the 1852/53 Coast Survey Chart (Map 2.1), Block 5 was a landscape of irregular ridges of sand, contouring east to west, with a declivity between the hills. A 60-foothigh ridge of sand blocked Howard Street west of First. This was the same sandhill that earlier had blocked Fremont Street and was shaken down in the June 1838 earthquake, clearing a passage along the shore to Rincon Point for mussel-gathering outings and picnics (Davis 1889:6).

A sandy valley, about 40 feet wide, meandered across the line of Clementina Street to the north and Tehama Street to the south. A second ridge of sand formed the toe of Rincon Hill; it rose to a height of 40 feet where it crossed Anthony Street, and to 60 feet where Second Street met Folsom (Map 2.2). By the time of the next Coast Survey in 1857/59 (Map 3.9), Anthony Street had disappeared--leaving only Tehama (35 feet wide) and Clementina (40 feet wide) running east-west, along with a small alley, Rodney Place (10 feet wide), connecting Folsom Street to Clementina.

The sandhills of Block 5 can be seen in 1852/53 on Plates 2.3b and 2.3d, and again in 1854 on Plate 2.7, where they rise up in back of the buildings on the west side of First Street. By the time of the Otis drawing of Block 5 in 1855 (Plate 2.8), a long sandy rise still bordered Block 5 along Howard Street and reached into the block to the north.

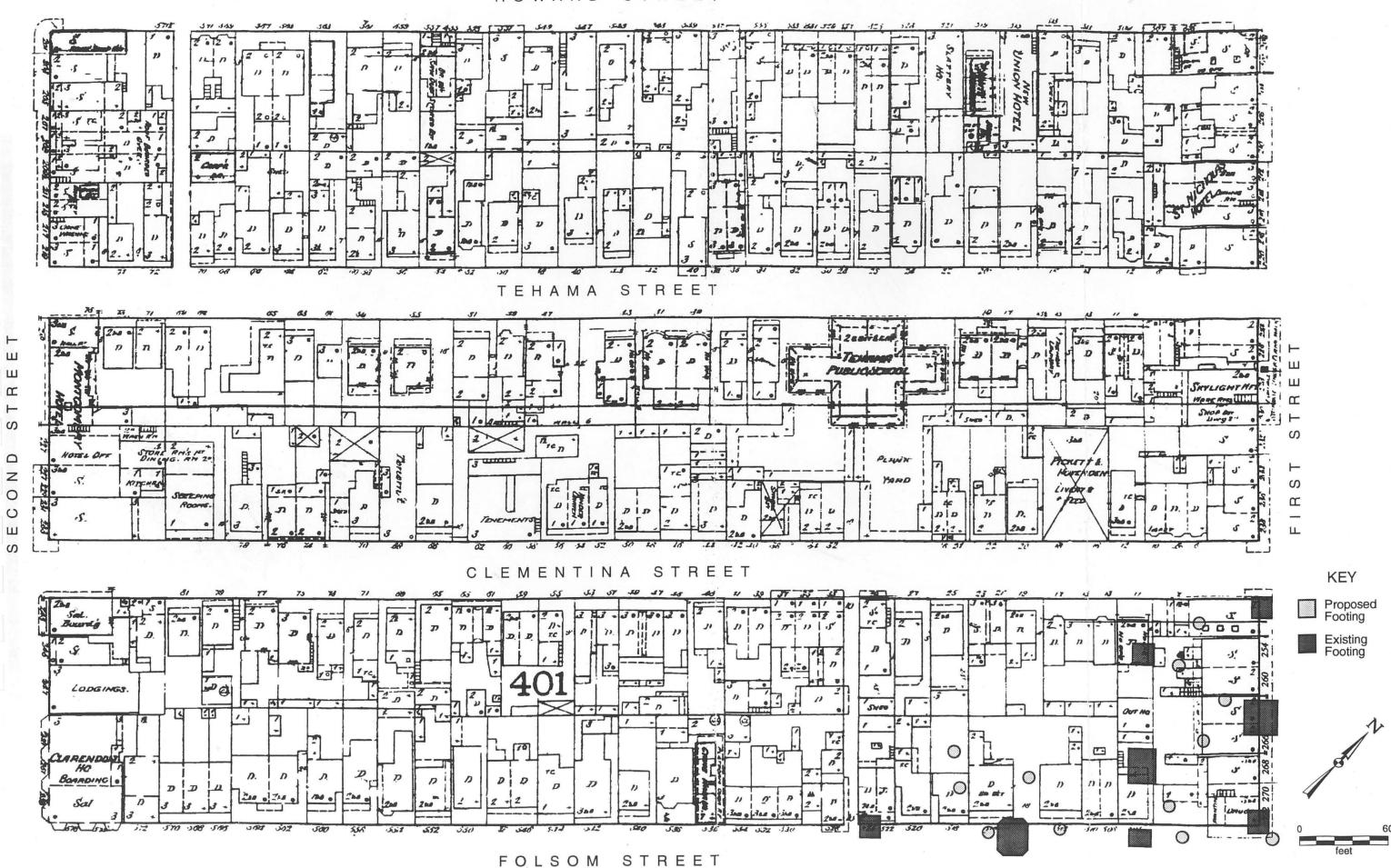
As early as 1851, a steam excavator dumped the sand from Block 5 into horse-drawn wagons that were emptied across First Street to bring Block 4 up to city grades (San Francisco Evening Picayune, April 16, 1851). The same kind of filling continued in 1854, as can be seen in Plate 2.7. By 1859 the level of development on Block 5 indicates that most of the sandhills had been levelled, except for a rise or two near Howard Street. All early views indicate the persistence of sandy soil.

The portion of Block 5 containing the SF-480 right-of-way formed a hollow between Folsom and Clementina streets, instead of the gentle downward slope of the present grade. Houses fronting on Folsom Street were either set back and down from the street, or had natural basements to the rear. The ground floor of Rincon House, the substantial three-story boarding house with a cupola on the corner of First and Folsom, was perhaps 10 feet to 15 feet higher than the ground surface behind it. This hollow was probably only completely filled in after the 1906 fire, when the block was rebuilt with larger buildings for industries instead of residences.

Scattered small trees, oaks and possibly willows, appear on the western rises of Block 5 on the 1852/53 map (Map 2.2). Their presence, along with the number of houses already built along Folsom and Clementina, suggests that well water was fairly easily available.

3.5.3 History of Block 5

Rincon Hill began to attract the elite of San Francisco in the early 1850s--it evolved into a closely knit neighborhood of the influential families of the city. Views of the busy harbor could be enjoyed with a warmer and sunnier climate than that of the northern waterfront; water drawn from wells was sufficient to encourage gardens; and there was relatively easy access to the city.



Map 3.10: Block 5, 1887 Sanborn Map, Showing Proposed and Existing Footings

All of these factors combined to sell building lots on Rincon Hill to those who could afford essentially suburban sites for their comfortable houses. Block 5 was at the foot of Rincon Hill, affording no particularly fine views (except on the upper end of Folsom, near Second), but had more level access to First Street. North of Howard, First Street had become the city's earliest industrial district and the location of many of San Francisco's manufacturing jobs.

The 1857/59 Coast Survey Chart (Map 3.9) demonstrates the contrast between Block 5 and Block 6 in terms of the size of the houses and the spaciousness of their settings. The number of large houses on the contoured rises of the hill tells a different socioeconomic story in comparison to the dense development of smaller structures on standard-sized lots on Block 5.

While most people living in Tar Flat in the back alleys of Baldwin Court and Lincoln Place were members of a laboring class, and the early Rincon Hill inhabitants (as well as some long-time residents) were largely members of the professional and merchant classes, Block 5 tended to become a mixed neighborhood of working-class families, with skilled craftsmen as heads of household. In addition, a number of professional people lived on the block (mostly on Folsom Street) and an equal number of families in which the head of the household was an unskilled laborer (mostly on Tehama and Clementina streets). This type of socioeconomic mix does not appear on any other block within the project area. Block 5 may be understood as a stepping stone between Tar Flat and Rincon Hill.

A perusal of the list below confirms the earlier observation made in the Yerba Buena Study (Olmsted et al. 1979) that the central east-west streets had a higher socioeconomic level than the smaller back streets. This did not hold entirely true on Rincon Hill, where back streets, such as Essex and Hawthorne, housed enclaves of professional people and prosperous merchants, who were socially indistinguishable from Harrison and Folsom street residents.

Shumate's survey of prominent men on Rincon Hill includes some of the early well-known inhabitants on Block 5: in 1859, Mark Brumagin, a banker, lived on Tehama Street between First and Second; Judge Oscar L. Shaffer lived on Tehama from 1856 to 1861; Alonzo Wakeman and his wife resided at 51 Tehama Street from 1859-1876; the Plummer family of lumber dealers lived at 62 Tehama from 1862-1881; the numerous Hooper brothers of the prosperous Hooper Lumber Company dwelt at 512 Folsom from 1864 to 1870; sea Captain M.L. Bramman lived at 514-515 Folsom in 1870; James Rogers Booth, a lawyer, lived at 516 Folsom from 1869-1872; Stephen Decature Gilmore, partner in Hobbs, Gilmore & Company, paper box manufacturers, lived at 518 Folsom from 1859 to 1880; the Hinckley family dwelt at 518 Folsom in 1861, when David Hinckley was President of the Fulton Ironworks; from 1870 through 1890 the Talbot family lived at 520 Folsom, owners of the J.C. Talbot & Company dry goods store; and at 564 Folsom William Alvord lived from 1859 to 1883, President of the Bank of California and Mayor

of San Francisco from 1871 to 1873 (Shumate 1988:109-122). All of these men were typical representatives of the prosperous mercantile class that grew up in the two decades following the gold rush.

It should be noted that as Folsom Street rose to meet Second Street, there was a 40-foot rise in elevation; thus, Mayor Alvord had a more desirable house site than his neighbors lower on the street. We do not know whether it was the fact that living higher on the hill removed the home from the noise and smell of horse-drawn drays, and the constant comings and goings of tradesmen; or whether 19th-century sensibilities felt "safer" or "more genteel" somewhat removed from business and commercial activities; or whether, like San Franciscans today, they valued sweeping views of the harbor and the city. Certainly, Mayor Alvord had a finer view of the city and harbor from his south and east windows than did the Hooper brothers down at 512 Folsom Street, much closer to First Street. Whatever the reasons, the higher on Rincon Hill, generally, the more influential the people tended to be.

Except for their earliest residents of the mid-1850s, Clementina and Tehama streets were back streets for the laboring-class, as well as for skilled craftsmen. Block 5 residents of Clementina Street who were registered to vote in the years between 1867 and 1869 included Joe Angel, a millwright; John James Crofts, a British engineer; Joseph Harney, a native-born carpenter; John Powers, born in Ireland, a cooper; John Donovan, an Irish lumber dealer; Patrick F. Monaghan, an Irish merchant; George Quinn, a printer; John Mahern, a carpenter; Hiram Haskin, a car driver from New York; Patrick O'Mally and Thomas Tiernan, both Irish laborers; Moses O'Neill, a harnessmaker from Ireland; Reuben Brown, a mariner from Maine; Andrew Jackson Lord, a painter; James Zeer, a maker of billiard tables; Christopher Bingenheimer, a German cooper; James Bateson, a tailor; and Michael Conroy, an Irish painter (San Francisco Register of Voters 1867-1868-1869).

One Clementina Street resident, Frank Roney, left us his diary--one of the few extant documents that gives us some idea of what life was like on Clementina in 1870. Roney was an iron molder, a leader in the Workingman's Party, and married with a child; he dwelt at different South of Market addresses during the years he worked in the foundries, or looked for work at anything that would support his family. His diary records his financial woes, which included a nephew who boarded with the Roney family but was out of work for so long that he became an additional economic burden. In 1875, the year of San Francisco's stock market crash and serious unemployment, Roney's wife was expecting their second child; he wrote:

As the situation is about as disagreeable as it well can be and as my wife is in no condition to be on a continual move, I have decided to remain where I am, No.

37 Clementina Street, till I find myself in more favored circumstance. If I could have resold what things I got from Borren at near what I paid for them, I would have taken furnished lodgings and remained so for two or three months to come until I had got somewhat established and more familiar with the place and its customs. I began work on 12th inst. in the Pacific Iron Works. . . . What my wages is I don't yet know and may not know for some 6 weeks yet. If I could have what is coming to me each week, in a very little time I would have things O.K. but while I want money very badly I cannot afford to forfeit my job. I have asked Lowell [his foreman] for a loan. I have no fuel and that is indispensable.

Later in April of 1875, Roney described his painful financial situation:

In order to get as even as possible with Borren, the furniture man, my wife ordered him to send a bed-room set and mattress, the whole to cost \$30. He delivered the things on the 18th, but on the Thursday, April 22, came with a teamster and took most of them away again. My wife managed to retain a pitcher and bowl and 2 chairs . . . as he insulted my wife by wrestling with her for a chair and finding he could get it, he pushed her. For this and taking the furniture by force I seriously contemplate prosecuting him criminally. . . [1875:n.p.].

Residential Development, 1856-1906

Map 3.9 shows the dense concentration of small houses on Block 5; survey information for this map was completed in 1857 and published in 1859. A glance at Map 2.5 demonstrates that no other block in the entire SF-480 project area was as densely populated with so many small houses at this early date. This pattern of small lots, most measuring only 25 feet across and about 75 feet deep, continued on up until 1906. The Handy Block Book of 1894 shows that land ownership on Block 5 maintained its division into small parcels, except on First and Second streets, which were mostly lined with buildings with shops on the first floor and tenants or shop-keepers living above.

A useful research tool for this early period for Block 5 is the careful drawing made by Dr. F. N. Otis, who drew the scene below him from the porch of William Babcock's house on Block 6 in 1855 (See Plate 2.8 and also 3.15). It is possible to identify 31 different structures within the project area in the 1855 view as extant on the 1887 Sanborn Maps. Once these Gold Rush structures had been located on the 1887 Sanborn maps, it was possible to identify them in some of the many photographs made in the intervening years.

Rincon House, 1854-1906

One of the most distinctive structures in the 1855 Otis drawing is the three-story building on the corner of First and Folsom, with its unusual rooftop cupola. A flight of back stairs shown in the drawing gave a separate entrance to the top two floors. The building appears again and again in numerous photographs, but never quite as clearly as in the 1855 drawing. Called Rincon House in business directories, it was one of the longest surviving major structures in the project area, continuing in use as a lodging house until destroyed by the 1906 fire.

The first view we have of Rincon House is a woodcut dated December 1854 and entitled "Looking North on First and Fremont" (Plate 2.7). Rincon House extends a porch with a balustraded balcony over the planked sidewalk on First Street. The rooftop cupola and the rows of back windows on the two top floors appear in Plate 3.1, an 1856 Fardon view from Rincon Hill. It appears again in Plate 3.10, taken in 1867 from Rincon Hill. The distinctive cupola can be seen in 1885 in Plate 2.15, taken from the Selby Shot Tower. Rincon House last appears, missing its cupola but retaining part of its tower, in Plate 2.16, taken in early April of 1906--the last view of the project area before the fire obliterated Rincon House and all of the surrounding buildings.

San Francisco's Great Register of Voters and the census records give some idea of the type of people who boarded at Rincon House. We can characterize these boarders and contrast the 1880 boarders with some of the residents found in the 1860s and early 1870s. The numbers are not large enough to support any statistical generalizations, but they do give the researcher a sense of who the boarders were.

Prior to 1870, information on Rincon House residents is generally limited to city directories and Great Register data. When a man registered to vote he did not list his family members, nor did he indicate family members at his residence or professional listing in the annual business directory. For these reasons, we have no family information on Rincon House lodgers before 1870. The 1870 census listed only one family living in Rincon House. This was the family of John Steen, a sailor born in Denmark, who was married to Florence Steen, a native of Scotland. The Steens had an 11-year-old daughter, Amelia, born in Scotland; an 8-year-old son, Charles, born in California; a younger son, Andrew, age 3; and an infant daughter, Mary. Both of the youngest children had been born in California. The same 1870 census taker recorded two related female boarders--Mary A. Sullivan, age 24, born in Ireland and teaching school, and her mother, Mary Sullivan, age 57, also born in Ireland and "keeping house."

In the period from 1867 through 1870, there was a preponderance of Rincon House boarders with occupations related either to the maritime trades or to metal-working trades. There were

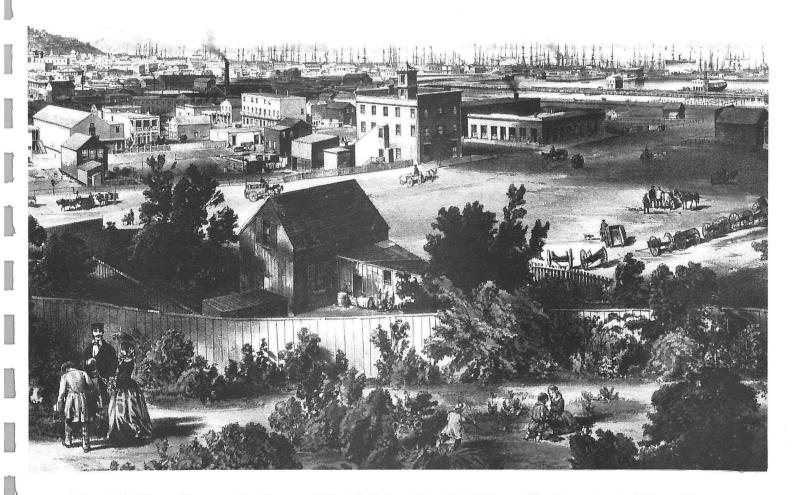


Plate 3.11: Rincon House, at the Corner of First & Folsom Street in 1855... The three-story building with a decorative cupola that the artist recorded so precisely was the Rincon Lodging House. It may have been the oldest, long-lived lodging house--built for that purpose--in San Francisco. In the 1850s Rincon Point still had a recognizable geographic identity. As a result, there was the Rincon Point Market, the Rincon Point Blacksmith (later called the Sutter Ironworks), the Rincon Point Warehouse, and Rincon House. Our earliest view of Rincon House is December 1854 (Plate 2.6) and our last view was made in April 1906 (Plate 2.16). The south of Market waterfront was spared the repeated fires of the 1850s that destroyed the early lodging houses and hotels near the north waterfront.

Over the years, Rincon House lodgers' occupations reflected the changes in the waterfront and along First Street. In the 1860s and early 1870s the maritime trades and foundry work were the sole occupations of the Rincon House male lodgers. One female lodger taught school. By 1880, the early boat-building activities in nearby Tar Flat had moved further south and east; Rincon House lodgers reflected this change with more diverse occupations. Instead of boat-builders and shipwrights, by 1880 there were longshoremen, a cook on a schooner, and seamen, and lodgers also worked as printers, restaurant owners and workers, barbers, a junk dealer, butchers, a wine-maker, and a collector of rents. The foundries were represented by an engineer, a steel worker, and a blacksmith.

Nearly 40 lodgers shared the top two floors of Rincon House, entering on First Street by following a narrow passageway to the rear and climbing the enclosed stairs up the back. As no meals were served, the ground floor restaurant would have proved essential--as was the barber shop which probably followed local tradition so that lodgers could buy a hot bath for 25 cents. A drugstore on the Folsom Street corner and a combination butcher, grocery and liquor store on the Clementina Street corner would have gone far to meet the lodgers' basic day-to-day requirements.



Plate 3.12: The Victorian Streetscape: Folsom Street in 1868 . . . This handsome stereo view taken by Houseworth from Essex Street, looking down on Folsom Street (with the Shot Tower and harbor beyond) is useful because the morning sun caught the street frontage from Rodney Place over towards First Street. At the left, the camera caught the row of six windows on the top floor of a three-story house (534-530 Folsom). Beyond it, the peaked-roofed cottage at 528 Folsom Street was present in 1855 in the Otis view; it marked the western edge of Rodney Place (formerly Ecker Place). A dark shadow covers the narrow ten-foot entrance to Rodney Place. Beyond the alley is a two-story duplex built over a raised basement at 522-524 Folsom. The smaller house next door was built as a one-family dwelling at 520 Folsom. The house at 518 Folsom was occupied in 1860 by David Hinckly, the proprietor of the Fulton Iron Works.

The peaked roof of two large houses on Folsom are just visible beyond the roof line of Babcock's house in the far right foreground. These homes were numbered 516 and 512 Folsom on the 1887 Sanborn Map and at that date had an empty lot between them. George M. Joslyn built 512 Folsom in 1856; he ran a ship chandlery business near Steuart and Market. In the 1870s it was the home of the adult sons of John Hooper, one of the city's most successful lumber dealers. Hooper had six sons, all lumber dealers in the 1870s, who invested their timber profits in the burgeoning wheat and hay trade in the 1880s and 1890s.

longshoremen, a seaman, sailors, a shipwright, and a shipsmith; five machinists, several iron molders, carpenters, a cooper, a painter, and a steam engineer.

The emphasis on maritime occupations is largely absent from the 1880 census data. One reason for this may have been the completion of the filling of Tar Flat. There were boat-building and repair operations going on in the 1860s along Beale Street, up at Mission and Beale, and on Fremont Street. Rincon House boarders of the 1860s and early 1870s may have found work on Blocks 1 through 3; certainly the iron molders and machinists who lived at Rincon House in the 1860s and 1870s walked down First Street to work at the machine shops and foundries already described on Blocks 1 through 4.

The address given in the 1880 census for Rincon House was 270 First Street. A look at the 1887 Sanborn Map (Map 3.10) shows that the front entrance at that address led up a flight of stairs, so that the boarders reached the top two floors by way of the outside back stairs shown on the 1855 Otis view (Plate 3.11).

The census taker in 1880 recorded 38 individuals boarding at Rincon House. Considering that the entire structure was only 50 by 35 feet square, with the street floor given over to shops, the top two floors must have been fully occupied. The two adjoining one-story, shed-like structures out in back were the out-houses that met the sanitary needs of this group. These two structures may well have served as "washing-up rooms" as described in *The South of Market Journal* article quoted below.

Of the boarders surveyed in the 1880 census, four were families and the rest single men, except for two women, one of whom was a teacher. Among the families dwelling there were Daniel Attinger, a winemaker, and his wife, Christina, the proprietor of Rincon House. She is described in the 1880 city directory as "keeping furnished rooms." The Attingers had been born in Germany of German parents. Of their two children, Emelia, age 4, had been born in New York, and Charles, age 1, had been born in California--indicating that this family had moved from Germany to New York at least four years prior to 1880, and thence to California at least by 1879. Another German family, the Batholds, are listed as living at Rincon House in 1880. Louis Bathold was a butcher, and his wife, Louisa, is listed "at home" as a roomer. Their daughter, Catharine, had been born eight years earlier in California. A third family consisted of Thomas Bradley, a native-born steelworker, married to Catharine Bradley, of Irish birth.

The range of occupations of the rest of the male boarders living at Rincon House at the time of the 1880 census included three printers (who may have worked at the print shop on Folsom Street, adjoining the corner drugstore shown on the 1887 Sanborn Map), a steel worker, a foundryman, an engineer, a glazier, a painter, a blacksmith, a cook on a schooner, a junk dealer, a bookkeeper in a store, three longshoremen, an expressman, a seaman, a porter, and a collector

of rents. Two single women lived at Rincon House in 1880: Julia Grazer, who was divorced and age 44, was born in Ireland and "works out"; and Martha Chiliden, age 25 and married, listed as "at home" at Rincon House, with no named husband.

The different proprietors of Rincon House included Turner Cowling in 1861; N. O. Ames in 1862; Mrs. Mary M. Tompkins in 1865; Amelia Franklin (or Franzens) in 1875; Mrs. Christina Attinger in 1880; and Charles McNalley in 1905. It should be noted that running a boarding or lodging house was one of the few respectable ways that 19th-century women could earn income by operating a business.

The boarding house was a San Francisco tradition from the Gold Rush forward, when the mostly young male population found a rooming or boarding house the easiest way to live. Some took their meals at the house, but eating out became a necessary habit for many. We have few extant descriptions of boarding-house life. *The South of Market Journal* published one account in 1927 of "early San Francisco hotels and boarding houses." The period described is unclear in this particular recollection, but other *Journal* articles published in the 1920s correlate with information from city directories from 1875 to 1890:

I am going to ask the brothers . . . to try and remember which hotels or boarding houses where they obtained their noon-day meal at. It only cost 25 cents, and what a meal it was: soup, meat, vegetables, dessert and all other trimmings that went with a meal in those days. You did not have to order coffee unless you wanted to but could get a big schooner of BEER instead. This all happened long before Volstead was born.

If you were a single man you could obtain room and board, at any of these places, for \$6.00 a week. There was no hot or cold water in the rooms, and if you wanted a bath, you went to the barber shop in the neighborhood where you bathed for a quarter. If you do not believe my last statement, just ask Sam Stern, for his father had a bath house connected with his barber shop in the Revere House, on 4th Street, near Mission.

When we got up in the morning, or came home from work in the evening, we would go out on the back porch or yard, where there was located a long wooden sink containing four or five tin basins and several bars of yellow soap, which we used to remove dirt. the first man to the sink would turn on the water, fill his basin, and then start to sputter and splash as he got soap in his eyes, and he would sometimes swear a blue streak as he groped for the towel.

The towel was an endless one and fastened to a roller which was held in a frame nailed on the wall. It was about three yards long but only one and one-half yards faced you. The first man got a dry towel, and after that, the next comers took the dry spots as they found them, and they were few and far between after 40 or 50 boarders had used the towel [Roxburgh and Wettig 1927:12].

Much of the census data from 1880, 1900, and 1910, included lodgers, roomers, and boarders, even in very small houses. The large number of boarders who were out of work for many weeks, especially in 1900 and 1910, suggests the degree of poverty that these South of Market people struggled with. One question for further research is to document the out-of-work weeks to see if the general level of poverty increased in 1910, as compared to 1880. There is a common-sense assumption that, after the 1906 earthquake, "everybody had a job rebuilding the city." It may be that this beneficial side effect of San Francisco's great fire only lasted for one or two years before the level of employment in the population dropped back to its pre-fire depression.

The Historical Importance of Rincon House: Rincon House may have been the city's oldest boarding house, built specifically for that purpose, to survive from the Gold Rush until the 1906 fire. No other candidate presents itself. The only other known research, previously published or currently under way, has been on the sailors' boarding houses along Steuart Street and East Street. Their location dates these sailors' boarding houses from the 1870s at the earliest. Likewise, it is the location of Rincon House that makes it a candidate as San Francisco's "oldest" long-lived lodging house. The six great fires of the 1850s that devastated the northern waterfront destroyed the Gold Rush boarding and lodging houses north of Market Street.

Situated so close to the original shoreline, Rincon House served a variety of boarders who did business in the boat-building yards in Tar Flat, or worked on the waterfront, or walked one block north on First Street to the city's earliest foundry and machine shop district. These were not the sort of men to leave written records of their lives, nor were their day-to-day affairs described in the local press. From an historical perspective, there are many blank pages to be filled about these people.

Except for accounts from the early Gold Rush years, little has been written about San Francisco boarding house operations. *The South of Market Journal* began a series on that subject that came to an end after the first useful article, which we have included in this section. E.B. Lloyd's *Lights and Shades of San Francisco*, published in 1876, came the closest to describing boarding house life at that time. But the book did not describe the ordinary day-to-day practices as recalled by the "South of Market boys," such as paying 25 cents to take a bath at the nearby barber shop. City directories from the 19th century are an important potential source of information concerning boarding-house life, but many boarding houses were not listed in directories. Until well into the 20th century, the terms "boarding house," "lodging house," and "hotel" were often used interchangeably, but each could carry a different shade of meaning. For example, a woman lodging-house keeper might prefer to be listed under "boarding houses" even if she did not provide meals, since many "lodging houses" listed as having female proprietors

were in fact parlor houses--there was no straight-forward way of advertising brothels in the San Francisco business directories.

Commercial Corner Properties

In most South of Market blocks, the corner property had the strongest commercial appeal; often, it would be the first part of a block to be built upon. Rincon House was no exception to this general pattern; the corner of First and Folsom was an especially important location, since both streets were major thoroughfares. Much of the ground floor of Rincon House was occupied at various times by a grocery store or a drug store. On the 1887 Sanborn Map for Block 5 (Map 3.10), there is a corner drugstore run by Jonathan Angell in 1880, with a small printing shop around on Folsom Street; the Angell family lived on the second floor, a few doors north, in 1880. Jonathan Angell was born in Rhode Island and married to Lydia, who had immigrated from Australia: the Angells had one child, Henry, who had been born 5 years earlier in California. The Angell's drugstore (and the rest of the row) was recalled in *The South of Market Journal*:

On the corner [Howard and Folsom] was Hayes' saloon. Hayes had four sons-Sam, Pat, Bob, and Jimmy. Hayes had an arena in back of the saloon where the boys from the Gas House could settle their differences, and this sure was a popular place. Also on the corner of Howard, Pat Hartigan had a rooming house.

On the corner of Clementina, Wherty had a grocery store and bar. Next door, Mrs. Mahoney had a dressmaking shop. She had two daughters working with her, Minnie and Maggie. On the corner of Folsom was Angell's drugstore. Directly across Folsom, on the other corner [Block 6] was Dr. Kearny's drugstore [November 1932:14].

In 1900 a German saloon, run by Henry Strathman, operated out of the ground floor of Rincon House. That same northwest corner space became, in 1905, a grocery store run by Rudolph Stolzenwald, also German.

Moving up First Street, the southwest corner of First and Clementina was occupied by a combined butcher shop, grocery, and liquor store from 1869 until 1876. Charles Christopher Taupthaus, born in Germany, was the butcher; Henry Schultheis ran the grocery and liquor end of the business (Great Register and directory information). In 1859 there is a reference to Joseph Sparrow as the proprietor of Sonora House on this same southwest corner. Sparrow may have rented rooms to lodgers on the second floor, or Sonora House may have been a saloon with rooms to rent above. By 1861 Sparrow operated a saloon with rooms above at Fremont and Folsom.

The pattern of German ownership of corner properties resembles the 11 blocks of the Yerba Buena Center (one and two blocks west of the SF-480 project). In that survey, in the 1850s, German proprietors often ran small breweries in conjunction with corner grocery stores. By the 1870s and 1880s, the corner store had evolved into a grocery store (frequently with a butcher shop included) that also sold liquor--which might be its main business. The 1894 Handy Block Book shows the Rincon House corner owned by Charles Meyer. Thus, it would appear that German ownership persisted on this corner property. In the adjacent 11-block Yerba Buena Center study, the Irish operated saloons mid-block, but rarely owned those properties (Olmsted et al., 1979). Given the high density of population both in the Yerba Buena Center and on Block 5, the corner grocery and liquor store must have been both necessary and profitable. The quote below gives some idea of how South of Market groceries operated:

Life on the whole was less formal in the South of Market 25 years ago [1900]. People worked hard, lived frugally, dreamed, died, but does anyone insist there was less of happiness? What they had they HAD, and they enjoyed it thoroughly.

They worked a full six-day week. I don't remember a single cash and carry grocery. The head of the family paid the week's bill on Saturday night. The children accompanied him on his rounds. The baker always gave you a couple of cookies; the butcher a slice of bologna, and at the grocery store you had your choice of a drink of cider, candy, or maybe a piece of fresh-cut cheese [Gleeson 1926:6].

The Row of Shops along First, between Folsom and Clementina

The street frontage from Rincon House north to Clementina was numbered from 272 (the corner store at Folsom) down to 250 (the southwest corner at Clementina). Combining directory information and census information, we can place certain businesses along First Street at different dates. Putting together this information documents a cross-section of the local economic and commercial life of Block 5, and the social patterns that it reflected.

268 First Street In 1868 and 1869, the shop at this address was a barbershop, staffed by barbers, hairdressers, and a bootblack. John Brown was the bootblack; Joseph Campbell and Edward Kelley (both Irish-born) were barbers. Henry Conrad and Thomas Hall were hairdressers at this shop. At this same address, Levi Shillaber & Company sold confections and fruit in 1869.

266 First Street A slight change of one street number between 1868 and 1880 probably identifies the same barber shop in 1880. By then, William House worked there as a barber. In 1900 Jacinto Lopes, born in Portugal, was also a barber there. He lived at this address with his family above his barber shop. Lopes was married to Mary, born in New York of Irish parents;

they had three children, all born in California: Julia, age 7; John, age 6; and Jesse, age 3.

Various South of Market Journal accounts mention that boarding houses frequently had barber shops nearby where boarders could bathe for 25 cents, there being no facilities with running water in the boarding houses themselves beyond the wash-up sink with basins.

264 First Street In 1869 Joel Funk is listed at this address as a carpenter and glazier. Various families are listed as living at this address as recorded on the 1880 and 1900 census rolls. The Angell family, previously described, lived upstairs in 1880. In 1900 the Dehine family lived at this same upstairs address. Annie Dehine, age 35, had been born in Germany; she lived here with her son Walter, who at the age of 14 worked as a day laborer; her daughter Rose, age 13, was still in school. Mrs. Dehine took in a roomer, William Butler, a marine fireman-this meant that he fired steamship boilers. Butler, age 23, had been born in Ireland and immigrated in 1874.

262 First Street In 1869 Ahimaaz Smith is listed in the city directory at this address as selling "Fancy Goods, Retail." In 1870 the census taker recorded Ahimaaz Smith as age 26, born in France, and running a dry goods store (presumably on the lower street frontage). Also living at this address was Ahimaaz Blanchard Smith, a horse dealer, age 46 and born in Maine. His wife, Anna Smith, age 42, kept house for the family. She had been born in New Brunswick. They had a daughter, Emma, who had been born in California 11 years earlier; Emma attended school.

In 1880 Hans Hansen was listed in the city directory as running a restaurant at this address. The same directory lists J. E. Jarrett as having a restaurant at this place; presumably the two were partners. The 1880 census records the family, living upstairs: Hans Hansen, age 39, had been born in Denmark and was the restaurant keeper; his wife, Ellen, age 39, had also been born in Denmark. They had one daughter, Louisa, who was 11 years old and had been born in Germany. Mary Jacobsen was a live-in servant, age 31, also born in Denmark. In the 1900 census, the Hansens are still in the restaurant business; Hank Hansen, age 54, had joined them from Denmark and worked as a restaurant helper. By 1900, however, the Hansens were listed at 258 First Street. We cannot be certain whether they moved a few doors down, or if the street numbering was changed between 1880 and 1900. The latter case would seem likely.

260 First Street In 1869 the city directory lists P. J. Joice at this address as a carpenter. This may have been a small carriage repair shop, since other directory listings place Edward Kelly here, working on carriage trimming, and Dennis Callahan, working as a hackman. A number of stevedores, laborers, and seamen listed this address as a residence from 1870-1872; they lived above what may have been the carpentry and carriage repair and rental shop.

The 1880 census taker recorded the Olsen family from Sweden living here. L.E. Olsen, age 43 and born in Sweden, was an engineer married to Charlotte, age 30, born in Sweden and keeping house. Their two infant children were born in California.

At this same street number in 1880, but in a different part of the building (perhaps a shared flat), lived the Wolff family, Polish and Prussian-born. Marcus Wolff was a tinsmith born in Poland, married to Tennia Wolff, born in Prussia (it should be noted that since Poland was not an independent state at the time, Marcus and Tennia may have both been from the same town). The four Wolff children were born in California: Sara, age 10, attended school; Henry, age 9, also attended school; Louis was age 3; and Julius was 1 year old.

258 First Street In 1869 Catherine Jones is listed in the city directory at this address as a dressmaker. The census taker recorded the family in 1870 as follows: Catherine Jones, age 34, had been born in England and ran a dressmaking shop. Her daughter, Ada, was 10 years old and had been born in Australia; she attended school. The Jones family lived upstairs at 258 First Street. The dressmaking shop may have also been upstairs, since the same 1869 and 1870 city directories list John S. Quinn as running a coffee house at this address. The 1870 census taker listed Quinn as being 37 years old and born in Hungary.

In 1880 the city directory lists John J. Calnan as operating a harness and saddlery business at 258 First Street. Upstairs lived the Fosters: Daniel Foster, age 49, was a ship's carpenter, born in Nova Scotia. The 1880 census taker also recorded Emma J. Foster, age 35, as keeping house at this address; Emma had been born in Massachusetts. The three Foster children were born in California: William, age 17, was an apprentice printer; Emma, age 14, attended school; and Walter, age 10, also attended school.

256 First Street In 1867 the Great Register of Voters listed Charles Edward Doud at this address; he was a butcher from Pennsylvania. A relation, Philip Doud, is listed at the same address as a cabinet maker. The city directory for 1861 shows the Douds working on Third Street. It may be that by 1867 they lived above the store at 256 First, or it may be that one of them worked below as a cabinet maker and the other as a butcher at the corner grocery store.

In 1870 and 1880 the census taker recorded the Elder family at this address. William J. Elder had been born in New York and was a partner with Abner Doble in Elder & Doble, where he worked as a tin smith, making stoves and tinware. His wife Mary J. was also a New Yorker; the couple had one daughter, Mary, aged 15 and born in California.

254 First Street The 1861 city directory lists Joseph Monks as a boot-maker at this address, working here with boot-maker Thomas Pearce. The 1880 census recorder listed the Turnbull couple in residence here; both William Turnbull, age 44, and Margaret, age 43, were born in Ireland. They had several lodgers: Charles Staufenbau, age 30, and his wife, Mary, age 28; both were born in Iowa of German parents; their infant son, Clarence, age 1, was born in California.

In 1900 the census taker found Mrs. Lucy E. Gasper living at this address; again we cannot be sure if the street numbers are precisely the same as in 1880. Only 30 years old and born in

lifornia, Lucy Gasper had three children to take care of, with no visible support. Her son corge, age 12, was a day laborer and had been unemployed for 9 months; neither daughter, ssie, age 9, nor Eva, age 7, is shown as having attended school in the census year.

252-250 First Street Henry Schultheis, the German grocer discussed above, listed this ddress in the Great Register in 1867, and worked here with Charles Taulphaus, a German putcher. The corner grocery store and butcher shop operated from 252-250 First Street over a period of decades. In 1877 Hans Herman was the corner grocer. In 1880 Rudolph Ellenkamp, born in Holland, clerked at the grocery store.

In 1900 the census taker listed the Irish Inaglay [sic] family at this street number. It is not certain if this was due to a slight renumbering along First Street, or if they lived upstairs over what had been the corner grocery, butcher, and liquor store for so many decades. Dennis, age 27, immigrated from Ireland in 1888; in 1900 he was a saloon keeper. He rented their home and had been married for 12 years to Rose, age 33. The four California-born children ranged in age from 4 to 11; only Maggie, age 11, had attended school that year; Patrick, age 9, and Annie, age 7, had not.

Beginning with Rincon House, which rented rooms from 1854 up to 1906, and continuing down the street through the numerous small shops and businesses fronting on First Street, all with living quarters above, we have a picture of a range of business activities that would have taken care of many human needs--not only for the Rincon House boarders, but for the hundreds of people who lived on the densely populated Block 5 from 1853 to 1906, or worked across First Street on Block 4.

The row of shops with residents above along First Street exemplifies the mix of residential and commercial activities that has been historically prevalent in San Francisco but which has seldom been the subject of historical inquiry. Placed in the larger context of services that were needed in the First Street neighborhood, the businesses along First Street, frequently with their operators and owners living upstairs, become part of a integrated and enduring community.

Folsom Street to Rodney Place, Houses on Block 5

In the 1855 Otis drawing (Plate 3.11) of the stretch of Folsom Street from First to Rodney Place, the lots behind Rincon House were empty. What we have designated as house #8 on Plate 2.8, at the west corner of Rodney Place and Folsom, was 528 Folsom on the 1887 Sanborn Map of Block 5 (Map 3.10). Judging by the number of people in the 1860 census, various city directories, and the Great Registers of 1866-67, the houses on Folsom between First Street and Rodney Place were built between 1856 and 1865.

Plate 3.12, (taken about 1868) shows part of this row of houses very well. This photograph shows the dark shadow of the 1855 peaked-roof house #8 at 528 Folsom, as well as the later duplex house next door at 522-524 Folsom. There is a smaller house, set back with a porch at 520 Folsom. At 518 Folsom, there is a balcony over the front porch of a house that was built by 1859, according to Shumate's research. The large peaked roofs of a pair of double houses mark the boundary of what we can discover in this view. The double houses have a lot between them (see Map 3.10) and their numbers are 516 and 512, respectively. There is no clear view of the three small houses at #510-506 Folsom.

Census information can be used to characterize the people who lived in these houses from 1859 to 1900. If there is one noticeable change, it is the decline in socioeconomic status through the years--more sharply discernable in 1900, when unskilled laborers, out of work for many weeks, lived where merchants and professional people had lived up through 1880. This noticeable drop in social status probably reflects the industrialization of the block that had begun before 1899 as industry began to replace houses near the corner of First and Folsom (1899 Sanborn Map). In place of the row of houses that we are concerned with, the Mutual Label and Lithograph Company had erected a two-story factory location between 510 to 514 Folsom prior to the 1899 Sanborn Map. Around on Clementina Street, a sky-lighted press room and warehouse is shown back to back with the lithograph company. This kind of industrial transformation made nearby houses far less attractive to people who could afford to live elsewhere.

500 Folsom In 1880 the census enumerator recorded Alrik Spenser at this corner address, directly in back of the corner drugstore, in Rincon House. It is not clear from the census roll if Spenser rented a room in Rincon House or if he lived in the small printing shop that opened on Folsom. He had been born in Sweden, and in 1880 he was a bachelor of 27.

506 Folsom In 1870 the census taker recorded the Kofoed family at 506 Folsom. Paul Kofoed, age 54, had been born in Denmark. As head of the family he worked as a stevedore, supporting six dependents. He was married to Margaret, age 55, who had been born in New Jersey. They had three children, all of whom attended school: Edward, age 12; Julia, age 9; and John, age 8. Living with them was Margaret Kofoed, age 69 and born in New York; she was a widow and is listed as a "boarder."

In 1880 there were many more people dwelling at 506 Folsom. The census enumerator recorded the Swedish Anderson family of four; the Swedish Cantsin family of four; and a Swedish widow, Caroline Friengail. All in all, 10 people dwelt where six had lived a decade before. Andrew Anderson was a laborer; Andrew Cantsin was a stevedore; and Caroline Friengail was a widow, "keeping house." The same census lists Julia Stoddard at this address, but as living in another building; this may have been the very small shed-like structure shown on Map 3.10.

By 1900 the Byer family from Germany lived at 506 Folsom. Frederick Byer, age 34, came from Germany. We do not know his occupation, but he rented the house and had been married to Emma, age 28, for 11 years. Emma had been born in Australia and was the mother of three children, all born in California. They are not listed as attending school.

Living at the same address was Etienne Noque, age 22, a French laundryman who had immigrated in 1890 and was unmarried. He is not listed in the census as a roomer but as renting his house, and as head of the household. There is the possibility that, like Julia Stoddard, he lived in a small shed-like building to the rear.

508 Folsom The Noble family lived at 508 Folsom in 1870. Thomas Noble, age 44, had been born in New Jersey and worked in the San Francisco Customs House. He was married to Serene Noble, born in Illinois and age 39. Their son, Clark, age 13, worked in a clothing store; his sister, Leslie, age 10, attended school. The Noble family had a Chinese servant, Ah Jong, age 15.

510 Folsom This was the other half of the duplex house at 508 Folsom. In 1870 Rachel Norton lived here. She was 39 years old and born in South Carolina. Her personal property was listed at \$4700, a relatively high figure for the time, especially for a woman.

By 1880 the census taker recorded three families living at 510 Folsom. Tille Bunn, a widow of 64, kept house; she was from Massachusetts. Nellie Bunn, age 18 and born in Maine, was single and listed as "rooming." Catherine Cosgrove, age 49, stated her occupation as "ladies nurse." She had been born in Ireland and was listed as "rooming." Lewis Merrill, age 47, was a master mariner, born in Maine. His wife, Mary E. Merrill, age 41, was also from Maine. Also rooming at 510 Folsom in 1880 was Cornelius L. Place, age 56, a hay and grain dealer born in New York and divorced.

512 Folsom This is the eastern structure of the pair of large double houses with an open lot between them. This building was apparently built the year after the 1855 Otis drawing, since in 1856 we find George M. Josselyn, a ship chandler, living here, as he did until 1865. Josselyn was in partnership with George C. Fairfield and owned a ship chandlery on the west side of Market between California and Steuart Street in 1861.

The young sons of the Hooper family, proprietors of the Hooper Lumber Company, began moving into this house in 1864. John Hooper, who lived at 557 Harrison Street (Block 7), had six sons who lived at 512 Folsom at slightly different times. In 1870 the census taker recorded Charles Hooper, age 27, born in Maine, single, with a personal estate of \$2000; George Hooper, age 24, born in Maine, with a personal estate of \$2000; and Appleton Hooper, age 20, a clerk in the store, also born in Maine. All of the Hoopers (with the exception of Appleton) are listed as lumber dealers. Living with the Hoopers at 512 Folsom was Theresa Bash, age 30, born in Prussia, and her infant daughter, Louisa, born that year in January. Also listed in the 1870 census

at this address was John Hunt, a 35-year-old citizen from Maine who is listed in the city directory as an importer and dealer in carriages, wagons, and hardwood. In the same building, the census taker of 1870 recorded the Upstone family: John Upstone, age 44, had been born in England and was in the iron door and shutter business at the Pioneer Iron Works; he had a personal estate valued at \$6000. His wife Sarah, age 25, had been born in Pennsylvania. Their two young daughters, Annie and Matilda, were born in California. Still another individual living at 512 Folsom that year was M. C. Nalton, age 30, born in Illinois, and working as a store clerk.

According to Shumate's list, William Hooper lived at 512 Folsom from 1867-69; John A. Hooper lived at 512 Folsom from 1864-66; George W. Hooper lived at 512 Folsom from 1864-66. These last three brothers would have been missed by the 1870 census.

The Hooper lumber interests were located in very large lumber yards near Channel and Berry streets. Hooper's South End Warehouse was used for storing grain during California's great wheat-growing era of the 1870s and 1880s. They owned many of the lumber schooners that brought timber into San Francisco, and they owned the yards to store and process wood. The Hoopers made investments in every kind of wood product, from cigar boxes to shingles and wine barrels (Hittell 1882:641).

By 1880 the Hooper entourage had been replaced by the Hearning family. File Hearning, age 48, was a sailor, born in Germany and married to Elizabeth Hearning, age 47 and born in England. Their daughter Josephine was 18 and born in California. Living with the Hearnings were Catherine Waugh, age 77, born in England, a widow who was listed as a boarder; and Ambrose Willis, age 26, born in Virginia, who worked as a bookkeeper.

514-516 Folsom The twin structure to the one above, this was a good-sized two-story house with a basement. The earliest record found on 516 Folsom is a city directory address for Judson Haycock, a lawyer, residing here in 1861. In 1867 to 1869 there are various listings: Oscar T. Shuck, a Justice of the Peace, dwelt there; as did John Stewart, a ship caulker; Edward Coombs Quin, a sailmaker; Alexander Charles McKean, a Scottish bootmaker; James Theodore Dean, a merchant from New York; James Eustace, a painter from Nova Scotia; and James Rogers Booth, a lawyer from Delaware.

The 1870 census taker recorded an odd assortment of residents, all as part of "family 304 in building 305": sea captain M. L. Bramman and Ella Bramman, age 17 and born in Ireland; Mary Davenport, age 25, born in Virginia and keeping house, with a personal estate valued at \$2000. Her child, Constance, age 4, had been born in Oregon. Nancy Green, age 70, resided here; as well as Thomas Lawler, an Irish laborer; George M. Lovejoy, a steam engineer; Edward Munosy [sic], a laborer; F. L. Nelson, a 25-year-old dressmaker born in New York (presumably female); Edward O'Shea, a laborer; Thomas Quick, an English clerk in a store; George Russ, a carpenter

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from Maine, and his wife, Jane; John Ryan, an Irish laborer; John Sales, an English machinist; Charles Sanderson, a bookkeeper from New York; and Belle Thompson, a milliner from New York.

In addition to this list of widely disparate unrelated people, there was the Parsons family: Charles A. Parsons was a 38-year-old merchant from Massachusetts. Eliza Parsons, his wife, was 32 years old and born in Maine. They had three children: Grace, age 13, had been born in Maine and attended school; Samuel was 3 and born in California, as was the infant James.

518 Folsom Stephen Decature Gilmore is listed in the 1859 city directory at this address. Since this house does not appear in the 1855 Otis view, it must have been built during the interval between 1855 and 1859. An enlarged detail of this area on the 1857/59 Coast Survey Chart (Map 2.5) shows three houses east of a small alleyway (Ecker Street, later Rodney Place). The scale and placement appear to be correct for this structure. This would place the date of construction at 1857.

Stephen Gilmore was a manufacturer of wooden boxes in 1859. His company, Hobbs & Gilmore, owned the San Francisco Planing Mill & Box Factory, located on the south side of Market, between Beale and Main (one block north of Block 1). The firm was also the agent for California Wines, possibly producing barrels as well as boxes. Stephen Gilmore and George Gilmore were partners with Caleb Hobbs.

In 1860 the census listed Stephen Decatur Gilmore, age 42, with a personal estate valued at \$3000 and real estate at \$1400. Gilmore had been born in New Hampshire; his wife, Caroline, age 38, had been born in Massachusetts. The census enumerator listed only one child, Frederick M., age 2 and born in California. Living with the Gilmores were William Woodward, age 21 and married that year to Abby B. Woodward, age 25 and born in Pennsylvania. William Woodward was a machinist from Rhode Island; his personal estate was valued at \$2000 and he owned real estate valued at \$5000. The Gilmores employed an Irish domestic, Ellen Hanaday, age 25.

In 1860 and 1861, the city directories also list David B. Hinckley, proprietor of the Fulton Foundry, as living at 518 Folsom. Hinckley was then age 35, had been born in Massachusetts and married that same year to M. L. Hinckley, age 25, also born in Massachusetts.

Another Gilmore son who worked in the box factory appeared in the 1870 census: Elias, age 23 and born in New Hampshire. By 1870 Stephen Gilmore's estate had increased in value, \$15,000 personal property and \$15,000 real property--high figures for the times. Bridget Clifford, age 32 and born in Ireland, had joined the family as a servant. Also listed at 518 in 1870 was Michael Buckley, age 25 and born in Ireland, who clerked in a store.

The Gilmore family remained at 518 Folsom through 1880, when they are recorded again by the census enumerator. Frederick was then 22, and worked as a bookkeeper in a fish cannery.

During the 21 years that we can be certain the Gilmore family lived at 518 Folsom, various individuals listed 518 Folsom as their residential address in the San Francisco Great Register of Voters and in the annual city directories; for example, William Prentis Millen, Jr., is listed there in 1867; he was from Maine, and worked as a clerk in a store.

The census of 1900 demonstrates how the character of Folsom Street had changed. Two Irish immigrant families now lived at 518 Folsom. Anthony Green was a day laborer, born in Ireland and married to Annie Green for 17 years. Annie could not read or write, and neither of the Greens knew the year of their immigration from Ireland. With them lived the Mullen family: John Mullen, a teamster born in Ireland 30 years previously, and his wife, Ellen, age 23. The Mullens had been married for one year and had two children: Thomas, age 14 months, and John, an infant.

By the time that the Greens and Mullens had moved into 518 Folsom, the Mutual Label and Lithograph Company factory had been erected just two doors to the east. The Handy Block Book of 1894 lists the Mullens as owners of the parcel for 518 Folsom Street. The 1899 Sanborn Map shows that the house had been extended out in back with an additional room.

The Historical Significance of Life along Folsom Street: San Francisco has virtually no published information about working-class and middle-class people from the period 1855-1900. There are many drawings and photographs that include exterior views of their houses, but the people mostly remain lists of names in the city directories and on the census rolls, the vital details of their everyday lives shrouded in obscurity.

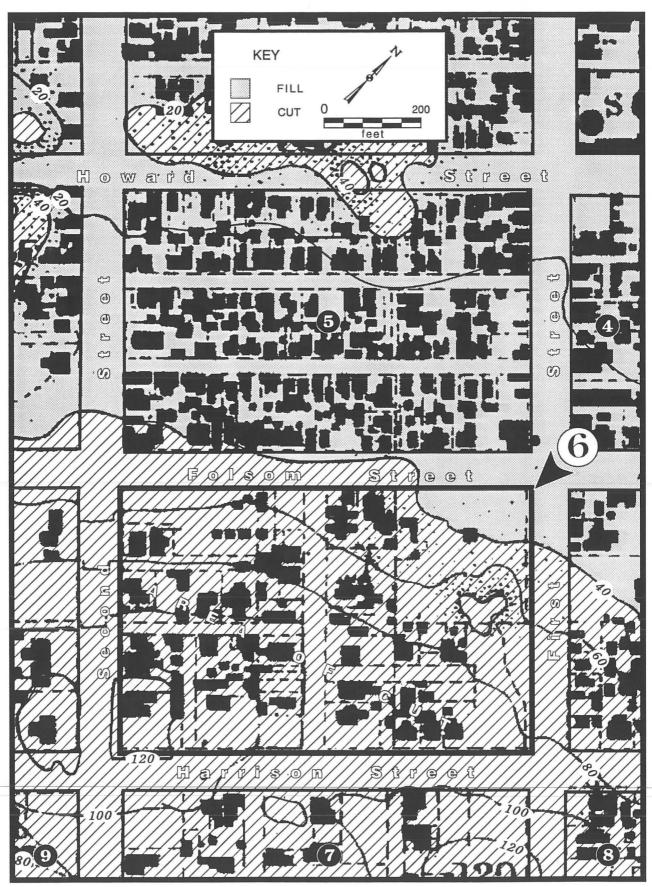
Dr. Albert Shumate's book, *Rincon Hill and South Park* (1988) contains much useful information on prominent men who lived "up on the hill." The photographs he collected and published are of their handsome and comfortable early San Francisco houses. Shumate's research was solely centered on the men who made San Francisco run; even their wives appear in print only as the widows who lived on the hill after their husbands' death. Because these influential men were written about in newspapers, wrote letters, kept diaries, and sometimes wrote books themselves, we know a hundred-fold more about San Francisco's upper-class men than we do about the working-class families--skilled and unskilled--who made up most of the population of Block 5.

Post-Fire Industrialization of Block 5

All of Block 5 burned in the 1906 fire, and the new buildings that were built upon it were almost entirely industrial. The 1913 Sanborn Map shows this striking transformation of a block

that was mostly filled with small houses and tenement flats before the fire. In 1913 much of Block 5 was still vacant, and many of the buildings shown were temporary sheet-metal structures. The area between Howard and Tehama streets contained many lots occupied by these temporary buildings and other land lying vacant while property owners waited in hope of erecting substantial loft buildings along this major street artery. In the central third of the block, between Tehama and Clementina streets, new buildings were mostly occupied by metal-working industries.

In the area bounded by Clementina and First streets there were plating works, a lithograph company, and warehouses. The 1913 Sanborn, updated to 1929, indicates that the entire block had been industrialized. Brass foundries, machine shops, an electrical appliance company, a plumbing supply company, printing and lithography, occupied what had been entirely residential and took the place of the small shops committed to personal services before the 1906 fire.



Map 3.11: Topographic Changes, Approximate Areas of Cut and Fill - Block 6 (Based on U.S. Coast Survey 1852/53 and 1857/59)

3.6 BLOCK SIX: Bounded by Harrison & Folsom, First & Second Streets

3.6.1 Summary

The particular historical significance of Block 6 lies in the fact it was the site of the early houses of some of the most influential families of San Francisco's Gold Rush era. Together with Block 7, Block 6 comprised much of first fashionable neighborhood in the city. Some of its residents lived there for many years, and when they died, their children often took over the family business and household.

Following the 1869 Second Street Cut, there was a gradual decline in the desirability of the neighborhood on these two blocks, so that when the great fire of 1906 destroyed the area, there was no incentive for the well-to-do property owners to rebuild. Instead, industry moved in from the northern business district, and clusters of three-story flats were built for workers' housing.

By 1910 the ethnic character of the neighborhood on Block 6 had taken on a decidedly northern-European character. Thrifty German immigrants lived in flats that they had purchased with savings from their grocery stores and butcher shops, and they rented rooms to San Francisco's "Scandinavian Navy." These sailors manned the Alaska Packers' fleet of sailing ships and the even larger, but less formally organized, fleet of coastwise steam schooners that made the dangerous trips along the redwood coast to bring timber home to San Francisco's great lumber piers.

From an historical viewpoint, blocks 6 and 7 are unique in San Francisco as constituting the nucleus of the oldest (1853-1856) fashionable neighborhood on the West Coast--an enclave that in less than a century was completely replaced--first rebuilt as a working-class neighborhood combined with light and heavy industry, and finally cut down for highway construction.

3.6.2 Natural Site

As can be seen on the Coast Survey Map of 1852/53 (Map 2.2), elevations ranged from 60 to 100 feet above sea level on Block 6 on the northern slope of Rincon Hill, including part of the summit along Harrison, towards Second Street. Sandhills meandered across First Street in an irregular fashion along the eastern edge of the block, but most of the area consisted of the grassy slopes of the hill. Trees were scattered here and there, indicating the availability of water. In spite

of the difficult access along Harrison and Second streets at this early date, three good-sized houses had already been built just above Folsom Street, and a row of small cottages marched down Second Street.

On the 1852/53 map, Block 6 had not yet been divided by cross streets. By the time of the next survey in 1857/59 (Map 2.5), Essex Street ran north and south, opening a 50-foot wide passage from Folsom to Harrison; a smaller street, Essex Place, ran west (off of Essex Street), and at the middle of the block turned south to Bryant Street. Laurel Place, at the 100-foot level, ran east from Essex Street towards First Street; but at such a steep elevation overlooking First Street that no houses had been built there by 1857. Folsom Street was the main connecting street to First and to the business district to the north,

Unlike Block 5 (just across Folsom Street but at a much lower elevation), Rincon Hill building sites were frequently much larger than the usual 25-foot-wide San Francisco house lot, which gave houses built on Block 6 ample space for garden settings. By 1857 there were a number of large houses constructed on large sites at the top of the hill, with views of the bay and the city. Blocks 6 and 7 contained some of the most desirable building sites in San Francisco. In the pre-1906 era, both blocks remained entirely residential, except for St. Mary's Hospital, on Block 7 near Bryant. The Second Street shopping district did not extend south of Folsom, where Second Street rose steeply to its summit at Harrison.

Block 6 has been cut down substantially from its original grade, as can be seen on Map 3.11. Folsom Street was the first street that was graded, in 1852, to approximate the natural grade of Rincon Hill. Until 1869 Second Street intersected with Harrison at an elevation some 70 feet higher than at the present. Before the Second Street Cut, the steep grade leading up to Harrison formed a barrier to traffic to the southern waterfront. In 1869 Second Street was cut through between Folsom and Bryant, while Harrison Street was left at its previous grade, crossing Second Street on an iron viaduct. Loose rock from Rincon Hill frequently slid down onto Second Street in wet weather, and as a result an irregular steep bank was left extending from Second and Harrison as far as Folsom and Essex. The outline of this embankment can be seen on the 1887 Sanborn Map (Map 3.12) and clearly appears in Plate 3.14, taken in 1906 after the fire.

As the deep trench-like cut continued to crumble, the Harrison Street viaduct proved a temporary expedient, and photographs taken in 1920 show that Harrison Street was by then an unimproved path between Second and Sterling streets. Following the construction of the Bay Bridge in the mid-1930s, Harrison Street was established in its present grade between First and Second. Aside from its frontage along Folsom Street, it would appear that all of Block 6 has been cut down from its original elevation, as can be seen on Map 3.11.



Plate 3.13: The Second Street Cut Destroys the Integrity of Rincon Hill, 1869... John Middleton proposed the cut in 1863, with the idea of opening a commercial arterial to the city's growing industry at Steamboat Point. His own property, a large lot at the corner of Second and Bryant, stood to gain from increased southern business. Middleton managed to be elected to the State Assembly in 1868 for the purpose of pushing through the Second Street Improvement. This was the same legislature that granted thirty acres of submerged land in Mission Bay to the Southern Pacific Railroad for terminal facilities. Hittell describes the improvement's effect: "The cut or ditch, at one place seventy feet deep, has ugly steep banks, which have slid down in wet weather; the falling dirt has destroyed the sidewalks; the despoiled lot owners have refused to keep the pavement in repair.... The direct expense of the 'improvement' was three hundred and eighty five thousand dollars, while the loss to the citizens beyond all benefit was not less than one million dollars" (Hittell 1878:379-380).

Two hundred and fifty teams of horses and wagons, together with five hundred men, worked from April through November trying to shore up the cut as avalanches "sometimes fatally interrupted" grading. "The soil being composed of alternate levels of rock and sand which bulged downward and inward, like the filling in of a swampy piece of land. Large blocks of Folsom granite were anchored transversely and laterally to prevent caving" (Langley 1869-1870:16).

This view was taken from Bryant Street as the moving teams and wagons vanished into a blur. The peak-roofed and gabled house of Frederick Macondray, Jr., had stood at the northeast corner of Harrison and Second since before 1857. It would shortly fall into the ditch below, as did Bishop Kip's house just across the street. In the far distance, Marlbourgh House is just visible--a boarding house catering to the professional classes, built in 1864 at the northwest corner of Folsom and Second.



Plate 3.14: Looking South on Second Street, Post-fire in 1906... The deep cut of Second Street through Rincon Hill that appears at the right in the distance was made in 1869, leaving high bluffs on either side that were gradually eroded. Harrison Street crossed Second Street on a viaduct. The remains of the hill to the west of the cut were reduced to their present grade in the 1930s to create level sites for industries, principally engaged in food processing and making paper boxes, while the bluff to the east was graded and lowered for construction of the Bay Bridge approaches.

In this photograph industrial reconstruction is proceeding after the 1906 fire; the brick buildings will be part of the Shilling Company complex of spice manufacturing. Only the chimneys and a few walls remain of the houses that formerly lined Harrison Street at the crest of Rincon Hill.

3.6.3 The History of Block 6

Early Residents

The Coast Survey Chart of 1857/59 (Map 2.5) shows that Block 6 had reached a comparatively high level of development by 1857. Two of the earliest houses on Block 6 belonged to the Palmer family, at 327 and 329 Second Street. William A. Palmer hailed from Maine, and in 1853 he brought his house in sections around the Horn from Portland, Maine, and reassembled it on Rincon Hill. William Palmer was the founder of the Pacific Foundry, later the Golden State Foundry. A year later, his brother, Cyrus Palmer, constructed the octagon house seen in the Fardon view made in 1856 (Plate 3.1). Cyrus Palmer became an owner of the Miners' Foundry on Block 4 and lived in his octagon house with the Second Street address from 1853 to 1869. The cut in the hill found him with a new address, 3 Essex Place, but Map 3.12 shows that by 1887 his well-known octagon house was missing a large section of its front yard along Second Street; residents of the octagon house reached Essex Place from their back entrance. In 1880 the Palmers lived in considerable style and comfort, with a French cook and an Irish housekeeper. Wales' wife, Ruth had been born in New York and had four children, ages 4 through 14. The Palmers had two young friends living with them from New York, Laura Whiting, age 19, and Jennie Whiting, age 15.

The Palmer family is typical of the well-educated or highly skilled East Coast families who arrived in San Francisco during the early 1850s; set themselves up in business in which the male members of the family participated; (in Wales Palmer's case he worked first as a machinist, then as superintendent, and later as proprietor of the Miners' Foundry); and built comfortable, but not elaborate, houses on Rincon Hill. In the case of the Palmers, various family members lived on Rincon Hill from 1853 until 1892.

Another of the first houses on Block 6, built about 1853 at 11 Essex Street, belonged to William F. Babcock. Babcock's property included a large portion of the block from Essex Street and Folsom, extending back to Guy Place. The 1855 Otis drawing of the project area (Plate 2.8), was made from his front porch, overlooking the harbor and the city. Plate 3.10 shows the roof of Babcock's house in 1867 with the Selby Shot Tower and Rincon House beyond. Plate 3.15 shows William Babcock and his wife on their front porch in about 1878, at a time when 25 years of growth of trees and garden shrubs concealed much of the changing cityscape below.

By 1880 Babcock had become a widower but remained in residence at 11 Essex Street. He listed his occupation as a merchant. His San Francisco activities had included being chief agent for the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, when it was the largest and most influential steamship

company on the Pacific Coast. Later, he became president of the Spring Valley Water Company, the water supplier for most of San Francisco, at a time when much money was to be made on selling water to the city's growing population. Spring Valley Water Works laid all the pipes in the streets of San Francisco from 1865 to 1867, achieving a virtual monopoly. When the private company was finally sold it to the city in 1928, it cost the citizens of San Francisco 41 million dollars (Burchell 1980:26). From his position as Spring Valley Water President, Babcock went on to become part of the Parrott investment firm. John Parrott was one of few men who arrived in San Francisco in 1849 already a millionaire from his South American gold-mining investments; Hittell estimated that he had made "fifty-fold that amount" by 1878.

The 1880 census enumerator gives us a picture of the comfortable life of the Babcock family at that time. Babcock's servants included a Swedish housemaid, a French cook, a Chinese houseboy, a French nurse for the infant granddaughter, and a Swedish laundress. Living with William E. Babcock in 1880, when he was age 60, were his adult children: William, Jr., age 28 and listed as a merchant; Harry, age 22 and listed as a merchant; and Kate, age 20. A daughter-in-law, Helena, age 22, lived there, as did Babcock's married daughter, Alice Bringham, who was 27 and married to Dr. Charles Bringham of Massachusetts. The Bringhams' infant daughter was 3 months old and born in France--a fact that accounts for her French nurse. Babcock's oldest children were born in Louisiana, and New Orleans was his point of departure for San Francisco early in 1852.

By the time of the 1887 Sanborn Map, (Map 3.12) the Babcock house bears the note: "Caretaker on the place." Babcock and part of his entourage had left for Marin, where he opened a health resort near San Rafael. His daughter and son-in-law moved to 2202 Broadway, one of the new show-place houses on Pacific Heights. His biographers note that Babcock was considered eccentric because of his habit of running several miles a day up and down Rincon Hill, which he considered essential to his health. He died in 1918 at the age of 99, having made his point. His descendants in San Rafael, Kate and Helena Babcock, set up the Babcock Foundation, which continues to aid Marin residents in paying crushing medical expenses.

Another early house on Block 6 was the Cheever house on the corner of Essex Street and Essex Place. Captain Henry A. Cheever, a sea captain from Massachusetts who had financial interests in shipping and real estate, built his house at 26 Essex in 1856. His daughter, C.B. Cheever, started one of Rincon Hill's first small private schools over her father's stable. She taught the children of the Hooper, Merrill, and McLane families (Shumate 1988:40). In 1880 the census taker recorded the Cheever family: Fanny R. Cheever was by then a widow of 67 years, born in Vermont; her children included two daughters, listed by initials only: E. W. Cheever had been born in Massachusetts and was age 40; C. B. Cheever, the school teacher, was age 25 and

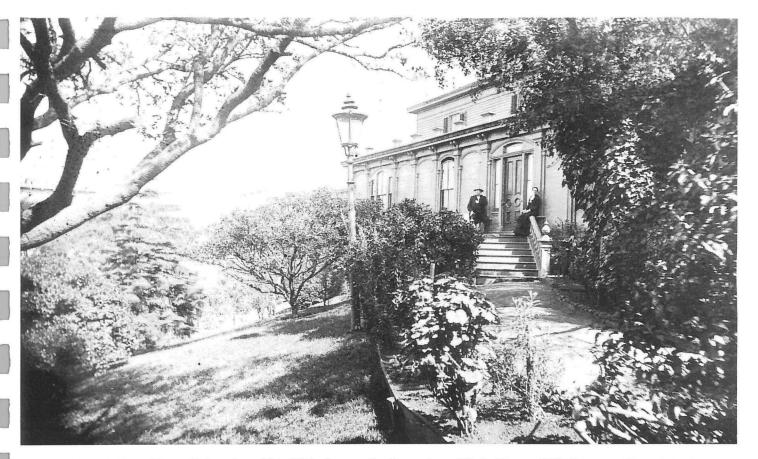


Plate 3.15: William Babcock and his Wife Survey the Scene from Their Rincon Hill Home on Essex Street, circa 1879 . . . In twenty-four years, shrubs had grown into trees by the porch where Dr. Otis made his careful drawing of the view reproduced on the cover. The Babcocks had chosen the site for their home overlooking the bay in 1854. They had lived through momentous changes recorded from this porch by many photographers up to April of 1906. Guy Place (seen in the view below) was at the fence beyond the trees and gas-lamp post.

Plate 3.16: Guy Place, February 4, 1919... Apartment buildings and small industries had begun to fill Block 6 by the time of Babcock's death in 1918. The vacant lots atop the foundations of pre-fire houses soon would be covered with industries. The apartment buildings in this view have become the only surviving residential enclave on Rincon Hill.

Upper View: California Historical Society Lower View: San Francisco Engineering Archives



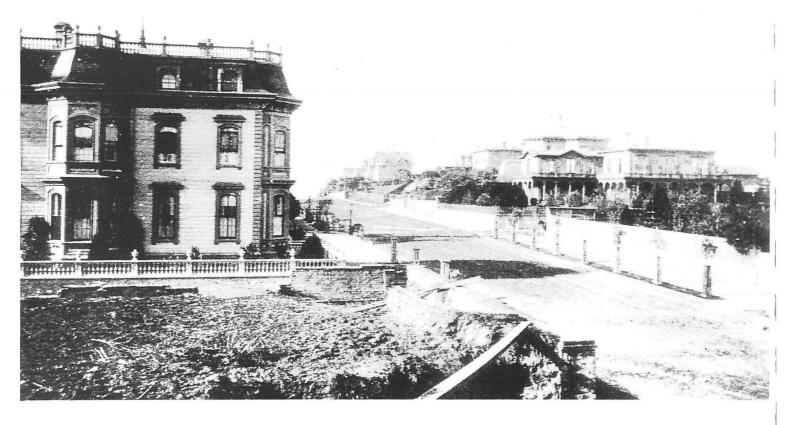
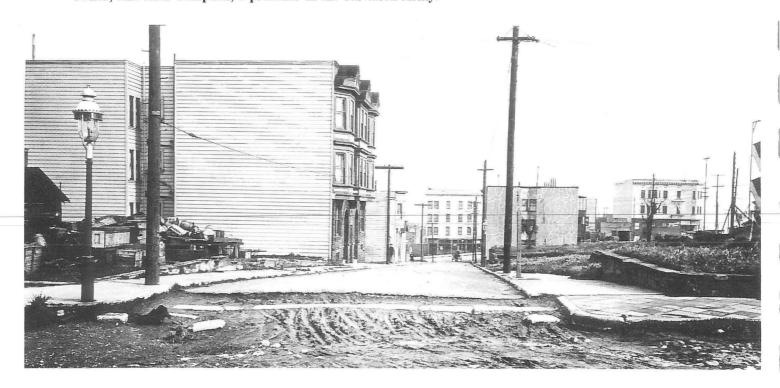


Plate 3:17: Harrison Street in 1865 had a spacious suburban aspect. At the upper right, the Coe house stands just beyond Essex Street. Note the substantial walls and fences that separated each house from the street, one of which is shown under construction in the foreground.

Above, California Historical Society; Below, San Francisco Engineering Archives

Plate 3.18: Looking Down Laurel Place off Essex, in 1919 . . . In the 1860s and 1870s, Laurel Place residents included: Henry Coon, Mayor of San Francisco; Senator Charles N. Felton; Jerome Lincoln, banker; sea captains Charles Nelson and S. Seymour Farnsworth; and Judge Orville C. Platt. In the 1910 census records, Laurel Place residents included: Stephen Handy, a cooper; Maxwell Gibson, a longshoreman; Rudolph Mueggs, a clerk in a grocery store; Isiah Haunda, a ship's carpenter; Frank Sternberg, a tailor; Frank Rowan, a bartender; Richard Brown, a printer; James Dunkavy, an iron molder; Matthias Stamer, a restaurant owner; and Alex Campbell, a preacher in the Salvation Army.



born in California. The widow Cheever had augmented the family income by taking in boarders, who were also from New England. The 1880 census records Alfred Robinson, a widower, age 72 and born in Massachusetts. He was a real estate agent and a trustee of the Stearns Ranches. His son, James A. Robinson, also boarded with Mrs. Cheever; he was age 24, born in California, and worked with his father in the real estate office. Ah Sam, who was just 17 in 1880, helped Mrs. Cheever with the household tasks. A third real estate investor gave 26 Essex as his home in the city directories from 1867 to 1873; this was Arthur Bowman, who had moved to Oakland by 1880. Like other early residents on Block 6, the Cheevers hailed from New England; as a sea captain, Henry Cheever brought a certain amount of experienced skill and prosperity with him. Longtime residents, the Cheevers continued to live at 26 Essex until 1892.

Another 1856 house was built at 14 Essex by Andrew Forbes, an agent with the Pacific Mail Steamship Company at the same time that his next-door neighbor, William Babcock, was the chief agent. By 1880 Andrew B. Forbes had gone into the insurance business, and was an agent for Continental Fire, Mutual Life, and several other companies. The 1880 census taker recorded the Forbes family: Andrew and Kate were born in New Jersey; he was age 55, and she was 50. Their children included Cleveland, age 20 and a clerk in his father's insurance business; Florence, age 20; Kate, age 18; and Angie, age 16. All three unmarried girls were born in California. Helping to care for the family was Ah Tim, the Chinese cook. The 1890 directory lists Andrew B. Forbes as still living at 29 Essex, in the house he had built in 1856 (14 Essex had been renumbered to become 29 by that date).

Of the ten houses with Essex Street addresses in 1887, eight had been built between 1853 and 1856. The fact that Folsom Street was opened and passable by 1852 may have been the reason why this through street from Harrison to Folsom was developed so early. Another important factor in choosing a house site at the time was the availability of good wells, which the northern slope of Rincon appears to have had.

Block 6 from the 1860s to 1900

According to Shumate, the 500 block of Harrison Street was the most fashionable address on Rincon Hill during the 1860s and 1870s. Certainly it was a street that demonstrated how the prosperous elite of San Francisco sought to realize Victorian ideals of domesticity.

At the corner of Essex and Harrison, usually listed as 34 Essex, was an unusual brick and stone house, built before 1860 (Plate 2.17) by John Tucker, a jeweler. This house was built near the 100-foot contour line with a second-story balustraded portico running the full length of the building. It undoubtedly had remarkable views of the city and harbor. In 1865 L. W. Coe, a

mining speculator, dwelt in this house. Israel W. Raymond, a self-styled capitalist, lived there somewhat later. From 1870 to 1876, it was the residence of John Ogden Earl, a mining speculator who gambled on the Comstock and, according to Shumate, lost more money in the failed Bank of California than any other single individual. Earl sold the Essex Street house to Henry Miller, the famous cattle baron of Miller-Lux Ranching and Meat Packing Company. "It is said, by those who pretend to know something of the matter, Henry Miller owns 700,000 acres of land (including two cattle ranches and eight main farms, with 6,000 irrigated acres of alfalfa, and 14,00 acres in grain); 95,000 sheep, 60,000 neat cattle, 5,000 pigs, and 2,000 horses. Miller and Lux own all of the land on the west bank of the San Joaquin river for 50 miles, and nearly all of the land on the opposite side" (Hittell 1882:692). For an immigrant boy from Germany, who "aspired to handle a butcher knife," Henry had succeeded beyond anyone's expectations.

When Henry Miller demolished the 1860 house seen in Plate 2.17 to build his San Francisco residence, he expressed the increasingly ostentatious style of the 1870s and 80s. While the earlier Rincon Hill houses were often large, they remained in proportion to their neighbors and to the extent of their sites; the new Miller house, with its tall mansard roof and towers, completely filled what had been the Italianate gardens of the Coe estate, as can be seen in Plate 2.13. Instead of a country villa, it was plainly an outsized town house. In 1880 the Miller family was recorded by the census taker: Henry Miller, born in Germany, was then age 52 and still listed his occupation as a butcher. His wife, Sarah, was age 39 and born in Rhode Island. Their children included Minnie, age 22 and born in Germany; Henry A., age 18 and born in Rhode Island; and Nellie, age 15 and born in California. Living with the Millers were two nieces, Lizzie Long and Sarah Long, ages 22 and 18, both born in California of German parents. Also living in at the Miller establishment were two Irish servants: Maria Maher, age 27, and a coachman, Hugh McNulty, age 30. Given the considerable size of the house, there must have been a much larger domestic staff either dwelling elsewhere. At missed by the census taker-one maid could not possibly have kept the place in order.

But this was only one of the family's residences. Miller had a considerable number of ranches and houses stretching from Ventura to San Francisco, where he stayed from time to time with his family; the house on Block 6 was merely their city address. Long after Rincon Hill declined in social fashion, the Millers continued to live at 34 Essex when they were in San Francisco. According to Shumate, the morning following the great earthquake of 1906, Henry Miller carefully locked the door to his Essex Street house and pocketed the key, taking his family to safety before the fire burned the block down. The key is all that remains of the mansion. The post-fire site of the Miller place may be seen in Plate 2.18; the lot remained empty when the view was made in the year 1916.

of the difficult access along Harrison and Second streets at this early date, three good-sized houses had already been built just above Folsom Street, and a row of small cottages marched down Second Street.

On the 1852/53 map, Block 6 had not yet been divided by cross streets. By the time of the next survey in 1857/59 (Map 2.5), Essex Street ran north and south, opening a 50-foot wide passage from Folsom to Harrison; a smaller street, Essex Place, ran west (off of Essex Street), and at the middle of the block turned south to Bryant Street. Laurel Place, at the 100-foot level, ran east from Essex Street towards First Street; but at such a steep elevation overlooking First Street that no houses had been built there by 1857. Folsom Street was the main connecting street to First and to the business district to the north,

Unlike Block 5 (just across Folsom Street but at a much lower elevation), Rincon Hill building sites were frequently much larger than the usual 25-foot-wide San Francisco house lot, which gave houses built on Block 6 ample space for garden settings. By 1857 there were a number of large houses constructed on large sites at the top of the hill, with views of the bay and the city. Blocks 6 and 7 contained some of the most desirable building sites in San Francisco. In the pre-1906 era, both blocks remained entirely residential, except for St. Mary's Hospital, on Block 7 near Bryant. The Second Street shopping district did not extend south of Folsom, where Second Street rose steeply to its summit at Harrison.

Block 6 has been cut down substantially from its original grade, as can be seen on Map 3.11. Folsom Street was the first street that was graded, in 1852, to approximate the natural grade of Rincon Hill. Until 1869 Second Street intersected with Harrison at an elevation some 70 feet higher than at the present. Before the Second Street Cut, the steep grade leading up to Harrison formed a barrier to traffic to the southern waterfront. In 1869 Second Street was cut through between Folsom and Bryant, while Harrison Street was left at its previous grade, crossing Second Street on an iron viaduct. Loose rock from Rincon Hill frequently slid down onto Second Street in wet weather, and as a result an irregular steep bank was left extending from Second and Harrison as far as Folsom and Essex. The outline of this embankment can be seen on the 1887 Sanborn Map (Map 3.12) and clearly appears in Plate 3.14, taken in 1906 after the fire.

As the deep trench-like cut continued to crumble, the Harrison Street viaduct proved a temporary expedient, and photographs taken in 1920 show that Harrison Street was by then an unimproved path between Second and Sterling streets. Following the construction of the Bay Bridge in the mid-1930s, Harrison Street was established in its present grade between First and Second. Aside from its frontage along Folsom Street, it would appear that all of Block 6 has been cut down from its original elevation, as can be seen on Map 3.11.

3.6 BLOCK SIX: Bounded by Harrison & Folsom, First & Second Streets

3.6.1 Summary

The particular historical significance of Block 6 lies in the fact it was the site of the early houses of some of the most influential families of San Francisco's Gold Rush era. Together with Block 7, Block 6 comprised much of first fashionable neighborhood in the city. Some of its residents lived there for many years, and when they died, their children often took over the family business and household.

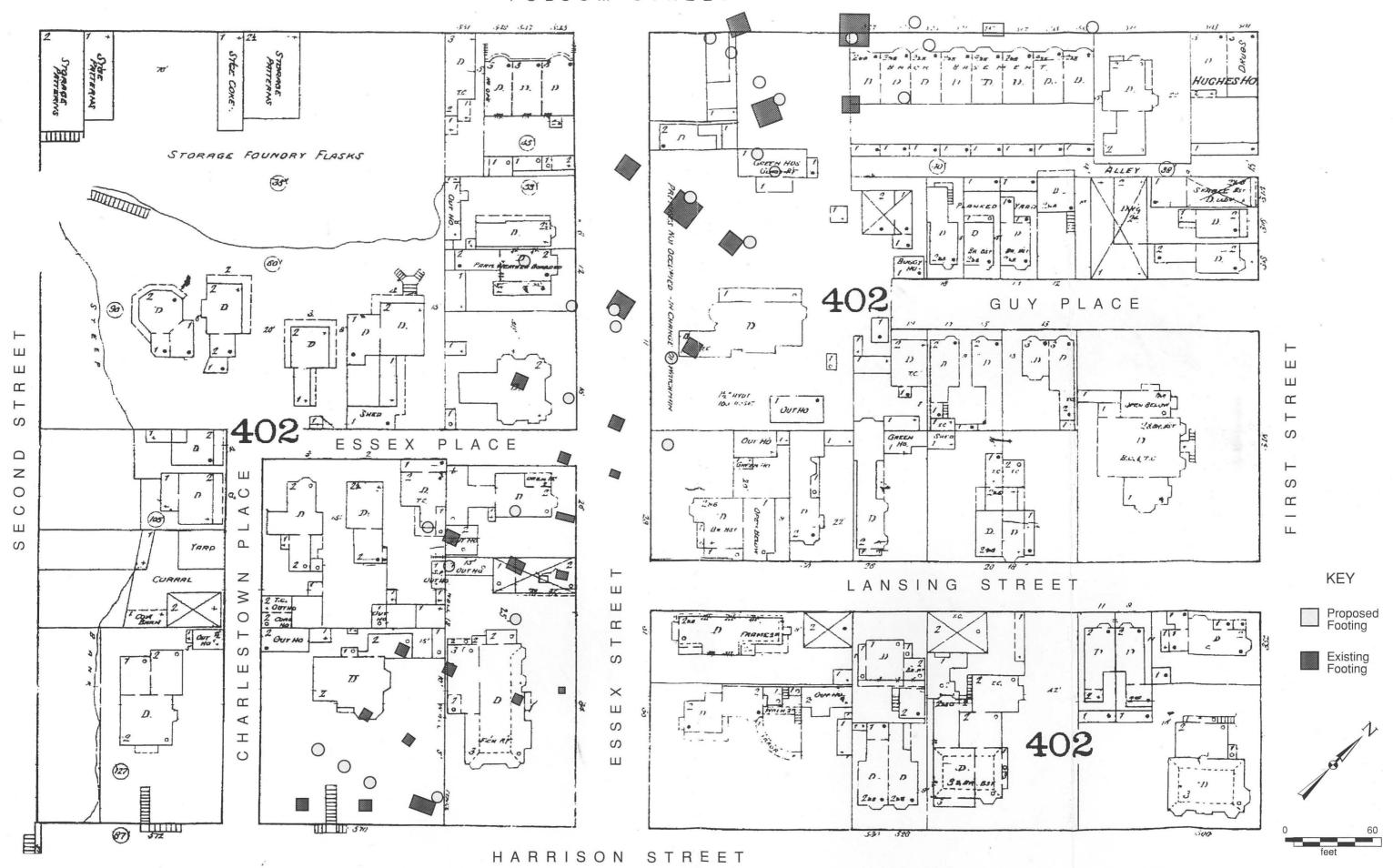
Following the 1869 Second Street Cut, there was a gradual decline in the desirability of the neighborhood on these two blocks, so that when the great fire of 1906 destroyed the area, there was no incentive for the well-to-do property owners to rebuild. Instead, industry moved in from the northern business district, and clusters of three-story flats were built for workers' housing.

By 1910 the ethnic character of the neighborhood on Block 6 had taken on a decidedly northern-European character. Thrifty German immigrants lived in flats that they had purchased with savings from their grocery stores and butcher shops, and they rented rooms to San Francisco's "Scandinavian Navy." These sailors manned the Alaska Packers' fleet of sailing ships and the even larger, but less formally organized, fleet of coastwise steam schooners that made the dangerous trips along the redwood coast to bring timber home to San Francisco's great lumber piers.

From an historical viewpoint, blocks 6 and 7 are unique in San Francisco as constituting the nucleus of the oldest (1853-1856) fashionable neighborhood on the West Coast--an enclave that in less than a century was completely replaced--first rebuilt as a working-class neighborhood combined with light and heavy industry, and finally cut down for highway construction.

3.6.2 Natural Site

As can be seen on the Coast Survey Map of 1852/53 (Map 2.2), elevations ranged from 60 to 100 feet above sea level on Block 6 on the northern slope of Rincon Hill, including part of the summit along Harrison, towards Second Street. Sandhills meandered across First Street in an irregular fashion along the eastern edge of the block, but most of the area consisted of the grassy slopes of the hill. Trees were scattered here and there, indicating the availability of water. In spite



Map 3.12: Block 6, 1887 Sanborn Map, Showing Proposed and Existing Footings

where they lived with their two small children. Sharing 26 Essex was the Chandler family of two; Mr. Chandler was a watchman and a switchman from Missouri. The Irish Fahey family also lived at 26 Essex: John Fahey (second generation Irish) was a stevedore and was newly married to Martha, who had been born in Ireland. Also found at this address were the Haskells, just married; the widow Kearny with her two small children; and two lodgers listed as day laborers--James McDonald, born in Scotland, and Jack Deever, born in Ireland. Thus, 15 people lived at 26 Essex in 1900; in 1880 the Cheever family of four had lived in this same house with two lodgers.

Some idea of the physical appearance of Block 6 in 1900 can be gained by looking at plates 2.14 through 2.19. Plate 2.14 was taken on Block 6 from Babcock's porch in the mid-1880s. Plate 2.15, taken from the Selby Shot Tower looking south on First Street, captures the rather run-down appearance of many of the houses in about 1885. Plate 2.16 looks down First Street from Guy Place on Block 6 in April of 1906: in this the last view of the project area before the great fire destroyed all of the structures on Rincon Hill, many of them dating to the 1850s, we can see the rooftops of houses on Block 6 that reveal shoddy conditions in need of repair. Also found in backyards are several jerry-built additions to houses that, by then, held two to three times as many residents as in the 1850s and 1860s. But despite the fact the it was no longer a fashionable neighborhood, Block 6 on the eve of the 1906 fire was still in many ways a very attractive place; isolated from the bustle of the foundries of Tar Flat, its quiet back streets and mature gardens had an appeal that was described by contemporary writers. Charles Warren Stoddard recorded his impressions in 1903:

. . .the quarter was still pathetically respectable, and for three squares [blocks] at least its handsome residences stared destiny in the face and stood in the midst of flower-bordered lawns, unmindful of decay. . . . She shone on a rude stairway leading up to the bare fact of a cliff that topped the hill; and five and forty uncertain steps that more than once slid down into the street below along the wreckage of the winter rains . . . all that was left of a once beautiful and imposing mansion crowned the very brow of the cliff; it proudly overlooked all the neighbors; it was a Gothic ruin girded about with a mantel of ivy and dense creeper. . . [Stoddard 1903:18].

Lodging Houses Along Folsom Street

Lodging and boarding houses have long been part of San Francisco's history. Within one block on Folsom Street there were three: Rincon House, discussed earlier on Block 5; the Hughes Hotel, found on the southwest corner of Block 6 (Map 3.12); and Marlborough House, on the northwest corner of Second and Folsom. An earlier (Olmsted et al. 1979) study of

Marlborough House (1860 to 1880), just across the street from Block 6, provides a useful comparison to the Hughes Hotel (1879 to 1900). Rincon House and Marlborough House were built to rent rooms to paying guests--not converted from other previous uses. It is not certain if this was the case with the Hughes Hotel. Rincon House and the Hughes Hotel both had shops on the ground level; Marlborough House did not--instead, it offered boarders a large first floor dining area with an adjoining kitchen. Marlborough House and the Hughes Hotel were one block apart on Folsom Street and appear to have co-existed for a decade or so. But evidence suggests that Marlborough House pre-dated the Hughes Hotel by a decade.

On Block 6, the Hughes Hotel, established by Robert Hughes, appears in the 1879 city directory under lodging houses, at 503 Folsom Street. Hughes Hotel residents were listed in the 1900 census. Whereas Marlborough House was built as an hotel with a kitchen for feeding guests, nothing in the 1900 census data suggests that the Hughes Hotel had any employees to serve as cooks or waitresses--only the lodging housekeeper and his wife took care of the lodgers. Marlborough House boarders had professional and mercantile occupations, while, with two exceptions, the Hughes Hotel was filled with single men who worked as laborers or in more skilled working-class jobs.

Marlborough House occupants in 1880 were described as follows:

It was the only boarding house along the north side of Folsom, with some pretensions to upper-class living. . . . The people living in its more than 17,000 square feet were interesting, for they demonstrate what a rich mix of classes and occupations made up the Rincon Hill, South of Market during its period of decline, when it was beginning to become better known for its Bohemian character. A total of forty-eight people lived at Marlborough House, filling an entire page of the 1880 census and constituting a third of the total population of Folsom Street between Second and Third streets.

The proprietor of Marlborough house in 1880 was Charles Goodwill, a 38-year-old native of Maine, who remained, along with his wife and four children, until 1886 at least. The in-house staff was completed by two Irish maids, and a cook, who together cared for the wants of the paying residents. The largest single occupational group of inhabitants were railway clerks, of whom there were three, all working at the Southern Pacific freight depot, located five blocks away. All three were young single men in their twenties. There were also a number of other clerks living there, one working at Pope and Talbot Lumberyard, another as a shipping clerk. These latter people were the only ones who could, by a stretch of the imagination, be called working-class [Olmsted et al. 1979:97].

Among the Marlborough 1880 residents were a number of prominent San Francisco merchants, an importer, a stock broker, and Theodore Judah, son of the Central Pacific Railroad pioneer.

These professional class men lived at Marlborough House with their families. Single and widowed women lived there, including Sarah Joseph, age 40 years and a widow, who worked on Block 9 in the Rincon Grammar School as an assistant teacher. Another teacher was Fredrica Grosvenor, a 28-year-old widow who listed herself as an "artist" and could be found in the city directory teaching music at Marlborough House. Most of the residents in 1880 were between 25 and 45, with a few older people, and a very few younger ones--the latter being the more youthful wives of the older boarders (Olmsted et al. 1979:98-99).

The Hughes Hotel at First and Folsom, like the Marlborough House, was three stories in height, but was not nearly as large. It measured approximately 50 by 75 feet, a little smaller than the Rincon House across the street on Block 5. Like Rincon House, the Hughes Hotel had a drugstore on the corner from 1879 to at least 1890.

In 1900 there were 27 people living at the Hughes Hotel plus the lodging housekeeper, Louis Mille, and his wife, Mary. The Milles were born in France; he was 64 and she was 57. In 1890 Louis Mille was listed as a laborer in the city directory, living at 7 Card Alley. Of the 27 lodgers at Hughes Hotel, 21 were men, mostly between the ages of 18 and 28. Most of these lodgers were native-born; many had Irish parents, some had parents born in Scotland or England. Seven lodgers worked as day laborers, including a 13-year-old errand boy; five men were skilled or semi-skilled workers in the foundries--molders, machinists, a sheet-metal maker, and a core-maker; three were teamsters or stevedores; one was a blacksmith; two were printers; two were ship riggers; one was a butcher; one was a porter and night watchman; and three were salesmen (one in a grocery store). Of all 27 people only two had professional backgrounds: one was a civil engineer, age 74, who had lived at the Hughes Hotel for the last 10 years, and the other was a Swedish-born chemist--the latter, perhaps working as the pharmacist running the drugstore downstairs on the corner.

In comparison to Rincon House in 1880, the Hughes Hotel in 1900 had more single men as residents. Both lodging houses had working-class roomers, but at Rincon House there were more skilled working men. Only one couple lived at the Hughes Hotel (aside from the housekeepers), and that was a German butcher and his wife. There were several groups of brothers lodging at the Hughes Hotel, all boys or young men, but with no parents listed. For example, there were the Hamilton boys, ages 10 through 18 and all born in California. James Hamilton, age 18, was a salesman; Thomas, age 17, was a sheet iron worker; William, age 13, was an errand boy; and Edwin, age 10, attended school. No such groupings occurred at Marlborough House, nor at Rincon House.

It may be that the variety of lodging houses along Folsom served neighborhood needs at different decades. Marlborough House was built before the Second Street Cut and maintained the

Rincon Hill genteel atmosphere to attract that class of clientele. Rincon House had been started much earlier (1854) on First Street as a direct accommodation to the maritime and foundry working men and their families, and its occupants reflected the changes in these nearby industries. For the Hughes Hotel we have only the 1900 census, and its occupants are little different from working-class people in the general neighborhood at the time.

The Hughes Hotel residents appear more similar to the boarders at the Miners' Hotel on Block 4, for which we also have the 1900 census. Occupants of the Miners' Hotel were Irish-born, and all were day laborers unless they worked in the hotel. At the Hughes Hotel, the lodgers' age range was about the same as the Miners' Hotel (including the two old-timers), but most of the young men were native-born of Irish, English, or Scandinavian parents.

Post-fire Residents on Block 6

No buildings on Block 6 survived the great fire of 1906. Photographs taken circa 1920 show that some land owners built cheap flats in the decade after 1906, meeting the urgent need for working-class housing. Industry had already started moving into Block 5 in the 1890s, and the corner of Folsom and Second Street began to be developed for light industry in the 1900s. Topographically, this corner was separated from the remainder of Block 6 by the steep bank left over from the Second Street cut, as can be seen on Plate 3.14. Certainly, the few professional and merchant class residents still dwelling on Rincon Hill just before the fire would never have considered rebuilding their houses--their money gave them far better choices. It is interesting to note that as late as the 1929 Sanborn Map, the land owned by Henry Miller, William E. Babcock, and the Donahue family remained very large vacant lots set amidst new industries and tenement housing.

The flats photographed in 1919, seen in Plate 3.20a, are typical of the groups of post-fire three-story tenements. At the time of this view, there were still vacant lots that would later be filled with a large electric heating factory by 1930. The census information for Laurel Place recorded in 1910 gives us a typical sample of post-fire residents.

Between 7 and 17 Laurel Place there were six flats in the three-story building. All were built with front windows and back porches (no light wells are indicated). The back porch was useful for washing. The apartments had indoor plumbing.

The 1910 census enumerator recorded four families living there at the time. The O'Neil family of six were all California-born of California born-parents. Edward O'Neil worked as a marine fireman (meaning he stoked fires on steamboats). His wife, Jennie, had four children from her 10 years of married life; their ages ranging from 10 years down to six months. In an adjoining



Plate 3.19: Looking East on Harrison: Block 6 on the Left, Block 7 on the Right... By 1919, the 500 block of Harrison consisted of three-story flats, not unlike those built in North Beach after the 1906 fire. The 1910 census taker found that most of the "heads of household" in these flats took in lodgers, and most of these were single men in the maritime trades. For example: at 532.1 Harrison, Mary Kelly, an Irish widow in her 50s, was the lodging-housekeeper and the head of the household. She rented her flat and sub-leased rooms to: Charles Burke, a Norwegian sailor with the Alaska Packer Line; William England, a Dutch stevedore; Patrick Gallagher, an Irish longshoreman; and Charles Stewart, who fired up marine engines on a steamship.

In this same group of flats, the 1910 census enumerator recorded a number of German landlords in their 50s and 60s who owned their "homes without mortgage" and rented rooms, again in many instances to men whose lives were connected to the waterfront, which was only a few blocks east. For example, at 568 Harrison the lodgers included: Ole Oleson, a Swedish salmon fisherman; Henry Peterson, a Russian-Finn, who was a salmon fisherman; William Rees, a German mate on a steamboat; Edward Retzenberg, a German sailor on a steamboat; Walter Marzan, a German steamboat captain; Celia Marzan, an Irish boarding-housekeeper; and John Strong, a Russian-Finn who was a sailor. All in all, 568 Harrison in 1910 had 38 lodgers listed in the census: eight were sailors on steamers or sailing vessels; four were salmon fisherman; four were marine firemen on steamboats; one was captain of a steamship; three were mates on vessels; two were longshoremen; and there was a ship's rigger, a pile driver, and a dredger. Only four were employed in trades other than maritime--two were printers, one a cook in a cafe, and another was a foreman in a coal company. Of the seven women listed, one was the boarding-housekeeper--the other women had no listed occupations but were married to lodgers, and several had small children living with them as well.

Harrison Street at this address was only a few blocks from the waterfront. In the early 1900s, each spring, the Alaska Packers' fleet sailed to the Bering Sea to fish for cod, herring and salmon. They stayed for the summer, catching and salting fish, and storing it in their holds to bring back to San Francisco in the fall. The coastal fleet of steam schooners travelled the redwood coast, maneuvering in and out of dangerous dog-hole ports to load timber sent down on wire chutes from high bluffs. Finnish immigrants had a special affinity for this dangerous work; at a handsome profit, they supplied San Francisco's lumber businesses with thousands of board feet of Douglas fir and redwood. Mariners from these fleets of sailing ships and steam schooners made ideal lodgers--they were seldom in port, except for layovers between voyages.

Plate 3.20: First & Harrison--at the Crest of the Hill, circa 1885 . . . The coppermansard roof was typical of San Francisco houses of the late 1870s and 1880s. Charles McLane, Chief Agent of Wells Fargo Bank, lived here from 1868 to 1882, and then John W. Farren moved in from his large place, next door, at 316 First Street. Farren got his start as a blacksmith on Block 1, and with his partner, Bernard Gallagher, made carriages, wagons, and drays. By 1885, Farren had become a banker and a San Francisco supervisor.

The site remained empty after the 1906 fire, as can be seen in the view below where the automobile is parked in front of the northwest corner lot at First and Harrison.





Plate 3.20a: The West Side of First Street, North of Harrison, in 1919... Post-fire flats at the corner of First and Lansing (formerly Laurel) are back to back with more flats around on Lansing. Down First Street is a printing company, millwright, and a three-story candy factory at First and Folsom. By 1929, the vacant lots were filled with factories that were still in place in 1948.

San Francisco Engineering Archives



flat were Stephen and Almyra Handy. Stephen Handy worked as a cooper. He was 21 years old, born in California, while his father was from Massachusetts and his mother had been born in Ireland. At age 35, it was Almyra's second marriage. She had two children, neither of them were living. Lodging with the Handys was William Pegg, age 40, with no occupation listed. Like the Handys, he was native-born; his father had been born in England and his mother in Ireland. Another flat was rented to the Gibsons: Maxwell Gibson, age 48, had been born in Ireland and worked as a longshoreman at the docks. Mary Gibson, age 40, was also born in Ireland. The Gibsons had been married for 24 years and had one son, Maxwell, Jr., age 21 and born in California, who worked as a clerk in the post office.

Across the street, at numbers 66 through 76 Laurel Place, were another pair of flats that can be seen in Plate 3.18. Living at 66 Laurel was Lauri Ahlman, the minister of the Finnish Lutheran Church, built around the corner on Essex Street. Ahlman and his wife, Elin, had both been born in Finland and had immigrated to the United States in 1903 and 1905, respectively. Married for four years, they had two children: Reins, age 2, and Neils, just born. Living with them was Mary Kineenan, a house servant, who had been born in Finland 16 years previously.

Dwelling in an adjoining flat was another Finnish family, the Johnsons, who took in three Finnish boarders. Matilda Johnson had been born 48 years previously in Finland and had immigrated in 1885. She was a widow living with her two children: the daughter, Nettie, age 18, worked as a comptometer operator; the son, Willie, was 15 and worked as a jeweler. Willie had been unemployed for four weeks during the census year. Three Finish sailors boarded there: Oscar Sanstrom, age 30 and unemployed for 10 weeks in the census year; Erick Lindahl, age 25 and a sailor with the Alaska Packers, who had been unemployed for 4 weeks in the year; and Eli Sjolund, age 27, and listed as unemployed at the time, as well as for 10 weeks in the census year. These sailors may have been employed on a run to Alaska--in which case, they were probably sailing with the cod-fishing fleet with the Alaska Packers Line out of San Francisco. This fleet laid up in Oakland Estuary in the winter and sailed as early as possible every spring for Arctic waters to spend the summer bringing in cod, to return to San Francisco in the fall.

At 72 Laurel, the census enumerator recorded an Austrian family. John Phillips and his wife, Mary, were both born in Austria and spoke Slavonian as their native language. They had been married for two years and both had immigrated in 1902. Their young son was less than a year old. John Philips is listed as unemployed at the time of the census and had been unemployed for 4 weeks in the census year. Living with them as boarders were two unmarried Austrian immigrants who worked as janitors. Both of these men had been unemployed for 20 weeks in the census year.

The Finnish community was extended at 74 Laurel Place by John and Elsa Niemda. John is listed as "head" of the group. Born 28 years previously in Finland, he worked as a ship's carpenter but had been unemployed for 25 weeks of the year--the first year of his marriage to Elsa, age 26. The Niemda's took in eight Finnish lodgers, most in maritime trades--meaning that when working many would not be in San Francisco: Victor Helgas, age 22, was a quartermaster on a ship but had been unemployed for 15 weeks that year; Erick Hillas, age 22, was a painter for both houses and ships and had been unemployed for 10 weeks that year; Hjalmar Hurnia was a blacksmith and had been unemployed for 15 weeks; Kustan Kannera was an engineer on a ship, and also unemployed for 15 weeks; Victor Manning, age 28, was a ship's carpenter and also unemployed for 15 weeks in the census year; John Relosker was a sailor with the Alaska Packers' Line and unemployed for 20 weeks; Ero Savonan was a 40 year-old sailor; Frank Wark, age 37, was a ship's carpenter and unemployed at the time of the census.

San Francisco's coastwise fleet in 1900 included two classes of vessels that employed many Finnish immigrants: the fishing fleet of the Alaska Packers and the coastal steam schooners. These smaller vessels were built to run on steam but also carried sails. They made dangerous voyages up the Mendocino Coast, into dog-hole ports where they loaded lumber sent down from wire chutes high above, and then returned to San Francisco. These vessels constituted what was often called "San Francisco's Scandinavian Navy," because so many Finns, Swedes, and Norwegians worked in the maritime trades, preferring coastwise runs to bluewater sailing voyages that were much longer and in some ways more dangerous. As well as the coastal steam schooners, the Alaska Packers' fleet employed many Scandinavians. When the Alaska Packers' fleet was laid up during winter months, the men who sailed them were unemployed. The wintering-over schedule did not affect shipwrights or painters, who found work on the waterfront the year round, unless times were really bad--as 1910 appears to have been.

Living at 76 Laurel Place was a Swedish family: John and Caroline Elander, both born in Sweden over 50 years previously. They had immigrated to Minnesota in 1880, where their sons Hugh and Dave were born. Dave was 27 and worked as a typesetter; he had been unemployed for 20 weeks in the census year. Hugh was a pressman with a printer and had been unemployed for eight weeks. Their daughter-in-law, Lenora, had been born in Kansas; married to Dave for three years, she cared for their young daughter, Lenora Jr., age 15 months. Living with the Elanders as a lodger was William Johhanson, a German baker who had been unemployed for 15 weeks in the census year.

A number of other German, Finnish, Austrian, and Slavonian families were recorded by the census taker at 80 through 98 Laurel Place in 1910. No street numbers on the 1929 Sanborn Maps match the specific street addresses on the census pages, but it seems likely that apartment

buildings were re-numbered during the intervening years. The nature of the other residents along Laurel Place are accurately sampled by those discussed above. Finnish, German, and Slavonian languages would be heard at home in most of these flats.

The rate of unemployment on Laurel Place in 1910 varied from 4 weeks to 20 weeks in the census year. Many listed as unemployed had many weeks of unemployment during the census year. Only a few of those recorded as heads of a household failed to list at least 4 to 20 weeks of unemployment during the census year.

The years immediately following the 1906 earthquake have been considered boom years for anyone in the building trades or working as day laborers, and there is much collaborative evidence to support this. But how long the clean-up and construction boom lasted has not been researched. Research on the Yerba Buena Center showed that most of the building permits in the district were issued in 1906 and 1907. By 1910, it may well be that local blue-collar wages had fallen back to approach their pre-1906 levels, and that unemployment in the city rose following the first phase of post-fire reconstruction.

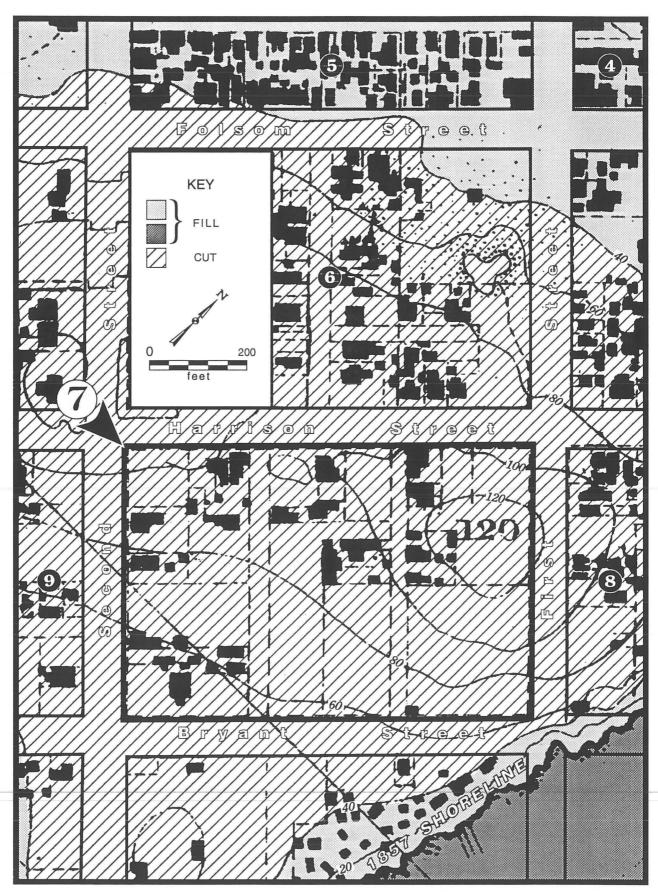
For foreign-born respondents to the 1910 census on Block 6, the year of immigration varied from 1872 to 1905, and many arrived between 1885 and 1900. Most of the children were born in California. Many of the children with middle-aged parents were born in the East, and a few had been born in the Mid-West. It is to be expected that young single Scandinavian men, working in maritime trades, would have come directly to San Francisco to look for work. The Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church had just relocated from its earlier site on Mission Street when the 1906 fire burned it down. The church had been rebuilt on Essex, near Harrison, by 1910. The number of Lutherans in the neighborhood must have predated the earthquake--certainly they were the dominant cultural group on Laurel Place in 1910. Shumate points out that the Scandinavian Lutheran Seaman's Mission also served the large number of Scandinavian seamen in the area (Shumate 1988:39).

Post-fire residents living in the flats along Harrison Street, seen in Plate 3.19, were of similar ethnic backgrounds and worked in similar occupations. The flats along Harrison Street were numbered from 530 to 546 on the 1929 Sanborn Map. Here we find heads of household listed as a marine engineer; a German butcher; a Finnish barber with a Swedish wife; a Norwegian sailor with the Alaska Packers; a Dutch stevedore; a Massachusetts-born (of Irish parents) longshoreman working on the docks; an Irish-born lodging housekeeper; and a Massachusetts-born steamboat steward of Irish-born parents. There were also several Irish-born widows past the age of 50, with a number of children born in California and working at a variety of jobs, including an oiler on a steamboat, a teller in a bank, an apprentice blacksmith, a fireman on a steamer, a miner in Alaska mining, a "rectifier" in a liquor store, and a weigher in a coffee store.

Of the people who resided in this Harrison Street row of apartments who were recorded as "owning their home without mortgage," all were Germans in their late 40s, 50s, and 60s. There were two German grocery store owners, Henry P. Mueggle and Frederick Papenhauser; a German boilermaker, John J. Pagendany; and Edward Wrassem, a millwright in a flour mill. Views of these Harrison Street flats show that they appear to have resembled the flats of post-fire North Beach. They had light wells between flats, many had curved bay windows overlooking the streets, and they had some architectural details that demonstrated the builder's skill and willingness to spend time and money to make them attractive places to live. These Harrison Street post-fire flats were several cuts above those on Laurel Place or Guy Place.

In 1910 the number of lodgers along Harrison Street in this row was very large indeed. At 568 Harrison alone there were 27 lodgers sharing three flats with several small families. Viewed from the standpoint of minimizing these crowded conditions, mariners made ideal lodgers--they rented rooms to have a place to stay when they were in port, but much of the year their rooms would be vacant. When they were paid off at the end of voyage, money for lodging was paid in advance (Klebingat 1975:Kortum interview). A number of lodgers were mariners with wives who were also classified as lodgers. From Harrison Street, it was only three blocks down First Street to reach the Pacific Mail Docks and connect to East wreet, following the line of the present-day Embarcadero along the city front.

And "it was along the city front that the business of the waterfront was done." Jobs were gotten at waterfront saloons, where "who you knew, and who you paid off" determined whether you worked or not. This was before the sailors' union hall calls and at a time when personal cash pay-offs ranging from \$20 to \$50 made to ships' mates were expected and customary. From 1900 to 1920, the south waterfront from the Ferry Building, around to Third and Channel "was the busiest part of the port" (Klebingat 1979).



Map 3.13: Topographic Changes, Approximate Areas of Cut and Fill - Block 7 (Based on U.S. Coast survey 1852/53 and 1857/59)

3.7 BLOCK SEVEN: Bounded by Bryant & Harrison, Second & First Streets

3.7.1 Summary

Before the 1906 fire, the spatial character of Block 7 closely resembled that of adjacent Block 6, with large countrified houses set amidst extensive gardens on the major streets bordering the block; smaller but still substantial houses lined the two minor streets that trisected it. The Second Street Cut, accomplished in 1869-70 as a traffic improvement scheme, began a very gradual process of diminishing the social status of the block. Nevertheless, because Block 7 lay near the summit of Rincon Hill and long retained its initial essentially suburban spatial morphology, it remained one of the most attractive residential blocks in San Francisco from its initial development in the late 1850s up to its complete devastation in the 1906 fire.

On the eastern third of Block 7, between Rincon Place and First Street and fronting on Harrison, the Sisters of Mercy's Saint Mary's Hospital was the leading charitable institution of the entire South of Market district in the 45 years following its construction in 1861. Aside from anecdotes collected by the Sisters of Mercy in later years, little is known concerning this highly significant facet of San Francisco's urban culture. In particular, the relation between the institutions associated with the Sisters of Mercy and the greater community life of the South of Market District is deserving of thoughtful scholarly investigation.

All of the structures on Block 7 burned in the 1906 fire, which was so intense as to shatter the ponderous brick walls of Saint Mary's Hospital; much of the block remained vacant following the fire until the construction of the Bay Bridge. Photographs taken around 1920 show the remains of the foundations and retaining walls of earlier houses, whose broad flights of steps now led only to vacant lots or tenement apartments. The dramatic transformation of Rincon Hill wrought by the 1906 fire has led many past chroniclers to ignore the neighborhood that was reconstructed after the fire, and then obliterated by the construction of the Bay Bridge. The social character of Rincon Hill between 1906 and the mid-1930s remains an unexplored but potentially significant element of the social history of San Francisco.

Only the westernmost third of the block, between Second Street and Sterling, was developed after 1906 with substantial industries, following the construction of a railroad spur along Second Street in 1915. After an initial post-fire period of tenement construction, the eastern two-thirds of the block remained either vacant or in residential use until the construction of the Bay Bridge.

The building of the bridge in the mid-1930s removed most of the housing from Block 7, essentially burying the summit of Rincon Hill under massive concrete viaducts. Later, beginning in the late 1930s, new industries were located in the interstices that remained between the bridge approach viaducts. Just as much as the 1906 fire, the bridge transformed the character of Block 7, and the effects of this change continue to exert an important influence on Rincon Hill as a whole and Block 7 in particular.

3.7.2 Natural Site

Block 7 is now the highest point of Rincon Hill, but it has been significantly lowered from its natural elevation, first by the establishment of street grades in the 1850s and early 1860s, and later more drastically, for the construction of the approaches to the Bay Bridge in 1932-1935.

The 1852/53 and 1857/59 Coast Surveys (Maps 2.2 and 2.4) show that the original elevations of Block 7 varied between 60 feet at the corner of Second and Bryant, and 120 feet along First Street between Harrison and Bryant. Sloping downwards towards the southwest, Block 7 was mostly meadow and scrub, and lacked the trees shown on the northern slopes of Rincon Hill on the 1852/53 Coast Survey and in daguerreotypes from the early 1850s. The original topsoil of Block 7 sufficed to support verdant gardens; underlying it was the rock of Rincon Hill.

Street grades were established in the late 1850s to 1860s at a level that was somewhat lower than the original terrain, especially towards the east end of the block. Property owners generally did not cut their lots down to street grade, preferring to set their houses back above substantial retaining walls. Several of these ornate walls remained intact up through the 1920s, while the lots behind them remained at their original levels until the construction of the Bay Bridge approaches.

Second Street was cut through at Harrison in 1869 to establish its present grade. The immediate result was a steep embankment that extended from Harrison to Bryant. This bank continued to erode in the years following the initial cut. The cut was ostensibly undertaken to provide better drayage access between the burgeoning south waterfront and the downtown part of the city; much of the driving force behind it came from real estate speculators hoping to see a dramatic increase in the value of their lots. But more than just a commercial speculation, the cut also represented the values of Victorian society, with its pride in overcoming natural obstacles and its concern for the utilitarian. Perhaps the best contemporary description of the Second Street Cut, seen in Plate 3.13, is the one in the *Progress of the City* written just after the deed was done:

The opening of Second Street, from Folsom to Bryant, has proved a more stupendous undertaking than was anticipated. As the workmen proceeded with the grading, they were seriously and sometimes fatally interrupted by the falling avalanches of earth caused by the excavations. Another obstacle presented itself. The ground of each side of the bank, a few feet from the cut, would sink and force itself out at the bottom of the bank, thereby endangering the lives of the workmen by the caving in of the superincumbent earth. This was chiefly occasioned by the formation of the soil, being composed of alternate levels of rock and sand, which being non-cohesive, bulged downward and inward, like the filling in of a swampy piece of land. The opening of the hill, which is in some places seventy-five feet high, commenced in April of this year [1869] and will be completed by the first of November. This work presents another proof of the indomitable perseverance of the citizens of San Francisco. There has been continually employed . . . two hundred and fifty teams and five hundred men, including drivers. The bridge which spans the chasm across Harrison Street will be a safe and solid structure. The walls along Second Street are built of large blocks of Folsom granite which is anchored transversely and laterally, the anchors being carried deep into the bank to prevent caving. The arch will be spanned by a strong iron-bolted structure of wood, which will defy the effect of either tempest or earthquake. Mr. George Bordwell is the architect [Langley 1869:16].

J. S. Hittell pointed out that, by the time the cut was completed, it had cost \$385,000 dollars to dig, while the loss to the citizens beyond any possible benefit, in terms of wrecked real estate values on Rincon Hill, was more than one million dollars (Hittell 1878:379-380). Although the Harrison Street viaduct was constructed, the granite walls that were planned to line the cut were never completed to any extent. Only after industries built large warehouse buildings along Second Street during the period 1915-1929, were the remains of the cut finally stabilized and built over.

Sterling and Rincon places originally approximated the natural grade shown on the 1857/59 Coast Survey (Map 2.4), and retained their grades and original paving through the 1920s; they were lowered and extensively rearranged during the course of bridge construction in the 1930s. Harrison Street, which had deteriorated into a footpath west of Sterling Place after 1906, was regraded and lowered to provide for bridge access.

As a result of changes mainly relating to Bay Bridge construction, almost all of Block 7, except for the area near the corner of Second and Bryant streets, is lower than its original natural grade. Exposed rock faces are visible near highway viaducts, giving an idea of how much the hill has been cut down.

3.7.3 History of Block 7

Early Development

The 1852/53 Coast Survey Chart (Map 2.2) shows only two structures on Block 7: a house at the intersection of Harrison and Stanley Place, and a second small house at the corner of Second and Bryant. By 1857, Rincon and Stanley places had been laid out, and a number of houses built on large lots. A comparison of the houses shown on the 1857/59 Coast Survey (Map 2.5) with those shown on the 1887 Sanborn Map (Map 3.14) reveals that only four of the 1857 houses were definitely in place 30 years later. Of these, the largest was the Donahue house at 454 Bryant, the grounds of which filled the entire Bryant Street frontage between Second Street and Stanley Place. Along Second Street itself, the houses at 413 and 423 had also been built before 1857, but 413 Second had been moved back after the front of its lot had crumbled into the cut. The house at 14 Rincon Place had been built in 1856 and was still in place in 1887. Several other houses shown on the 1857 map may well have been modified or expanded, but they cannot be precisely identified on the 1887 map.

Indeed, the 1857/59 Coast Survey coincided with the beginning of the popularity of Block 7 as a neighborhood, and most of the vacant lots that appear on the 1857 map would be filled by the mid-1860s. Well before the surveying of the 1887 Sanborn Map, Harrison Street would be lined from First to Second by large and impressive houses, set back amidst formal gardens on large lots. Stanley and Rincon places were filled with a mixture of large and mid-sized houses. Apart from Saint Mary's Hospital at Bryant between Rincon and First, the only parts of Block 7 that were not in keeping with the suburban atmosphere of the neighborhood were two small enclaves of crowded cottages along the private alleyways of Stanley Court and Simpson Place, which are labeled "tenements" on the 1899 Sanborn Map, and may have been built as servants' houses. The only commercial structure that appears on Block 7 prior to 1906 is a corner grocery store at Bryant Street and Stanley Place; well-to-do residents of the block are known to have had many of their groceries delivered, so there was little demand for corner stores.

It should be noted that the remarkably uniform character of Harrison Street, in particular, was not the product of any overall plan. There were no zoning laws, specified lot sizes, or setbacks anywhere in San Francisco at the time. The one privately planned community that did exist, South Park, was initially popular but remained incomplete, and found no imitators until the suburban tracts of the early 20th century. In the absence of any plan, the harmonious character of Harrison Street can only be seen as the product of a set of cultural factors that must have been common to those who constructed houses there. Since the individual houses differed greatly in

architectural style, the overall character of the neighborhood was not one of superficial aesthetic preference, but rather directly expressed the culture of the times.

Saint Mary's Hospital

In sharp contrast to the well-to-do residential environment of Block 7, Saint Mary's Hospital was consciously founded to serve the needs of working-class immigrants living in the less opulent purlieus of the South of Market District. Saint Mary's Hospital was one of the most important institutions available to the South of Market community; it is therefore of a much greater historical significance when considered in a social context than the mere fact of its existence as a hospital would suggest.

The Order of the Sisters of Mercy, established in Ireland in 1831, was from its founding dedicated to caring for the sick. Catherine McAuley, the founder of the Order, laid the groundwork for its rapid expansion, and the first Sisters of Mercy arrived in San Francisco from Ireland in 1854, at the instigation of San Francisco's Archbishop Alemany. At first, the sisters worked tending the sick in the County Hospital on Broadway, which was soon transferred to the control of the sisters by public authorities anxious to avoid public health responsibilities (Sheridan 1982:74-75).

The Saint Mary's Hospital site on Block 7 was purchased for \$10,000 dollars in the spring of 1857, but funds to construct a proper hospital were slow in coming. Grading of the site, begun in January of 1860, cost an additional \$5,000; the hospital was completed in November of 1861 with some support from state funds (Sheridan 1982:83-84). As one of its physicians recalled:

The hospital occupied the southern half of the block, facing on Bryant Street. To the east was First Street and Stanley Place; a narrow block bounded the property on the west. The northern half of the block faced on Harrison and was occupied by residences. . . . The hospital opened in November, 1861, with twenty-seven patients. . . . The additional wing of identical construction was added in 1870. Two years later the wooden structure housing the aged and infirm females, and known as Our Lady's Home, was built. It housed about thirty-five women [Topham 1950:16].

The view of the hospital reproduced in Plate 3.22 shows the structure after the construction of the east wing; the building was again expanded in 1891, with an additional wing and a new mansard-roofed attic housing up-to-date sky-lit operating rooms. Fees ranged from 10 dollars weekly for patients in open wards, to 20 dollars a week for private rooms; several beds were endowed by benefactors for the care of the indigent. Patients were divided between the various

floors of the hospital by gender, as well as by their ability to pay.

The hospital proper was only part of a complex of buildings that housed many of the various charitable activities run by the Sisters of Mercy. Fronting on First Street to the north of the hospital, the Church of the Passion--otherwise known as Saint Mary's Hall--was built by the Saint Mary's Society, a group of local laywomen that already had 600 members by the time the hall was dedicated. The society numbered as many as 1200 members in 1880, when it was converted into a mutual benevolent society to better help its members (Sheridan 1982:104; Burchell 1980:96).

On the opposite side of the property, fronting on Rincon Place, a home for aged women was built in 1872. The need for such a home was pressing and it had been projected a decade earlier. Its construction had been delayed by Archbishop Alemeny's desire to make the home a self-supporting industrial operation that would include younger women, whose work would foot the bill. The Aged and Infirm Women's Home soon became overcrowded with widows from Tar Flat and other districts of the city who had nowhere else to turn. An article in the *San Francisco Call* described the home:

In 1872 a large three-story frame house was erected on the Hospital property, but this is now quite inadequate to the wants of the inmates. The fact that the Home now shelters one hundred twenty-five women varying in age from fifty to ninety years while it has fair accommodations for only eighty or eighty-five will give a better idea of the need for enlargement than any detailed description could convey [San Francisco Call, January 7, 1874].

Between the hospital and the Aged and Infirm Women's Home was the House of Mercy, built in 1873 to serve as a residence for unemployed women. Its special goal was to keep its inmates safe from the many moral temptations that were present in San Francisco at the time. In the case of the House of Mercy, the principal of self-sufficiency worked with a degree of success, and the unemployed women paid their keep by sewing clothes, filling orders from major San Francisco clothiers. A total of 24 girls could be accommodated in the House of Mercy, some of whom were as young as 13.

Quite apart from caring for the sick and helpless, teaching was also a major activity of the Sisters of Mercy. Although the civic authorities of San Francisco provided good public schools from the late 1850s until well into the 20th century, the education that they offered was decidedly secular, and the mixture of pupils from widely varying ethnic and religious backgrounds underscored the cosmopolitan atmosphere. The Roman Catholic Church as a whole in the 19th century was deeply concerned about the perniciously secularizing influence of public education. Successive San Francisco archbishops, several of whom were closely associated with the Jesuits,



Plate 3.21: Looking North on Second Street, circa 1864 . . . This view was made from a place north of Townsend street, looking up Second Street. Brannan Street crosses to the right, with footpaths leading down to John North's ship-building operation, where a three-masted schooner is being hauled out onto the beach. Bryant Street is in the distance, where Saint Mary's Hospital is the prominent four-story building occupying the northwest corner of Bryant and First streets on Block 7.

A 100-foot high sandhill had already been cleared away from Townsend Street, and an 80-foot hill at Brannan, leaving a graded slope of 30-40 feet on Second as far as Bryant. After crossing Bryant, Second Street rose steeply from 70 to 80-feet at Harrison. As the elevation rose and the views improved, the houses became more elaborate. Second Street became a fashionable residential address from Bryant past Folsom, and Blocks 6 and 7 contained some of San Francisco's finest examples of mid-19th century residential architecture. Essex, Rincon, Stanley, Laurel, and Guy Place were, if anything, more desirable, as these narrow 30-foot streets on the top of Rincon Hill avoided the street traffic of Harrison and Folsom, but kept fine views of San Francisco Bay, framed by gardens filled with exotic trees.

Within five years, in 1869, Second Street had been cut through--the southern waterfront had suddenly become a focus of economic growth in San Francisco and a direct level passage to the city was thought necessary to the interests of shipping and railroad magnates.

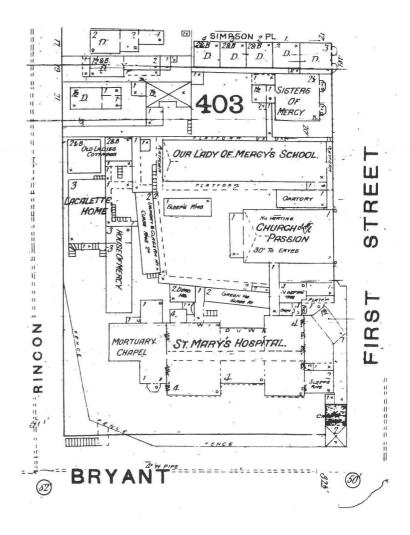
Plate 3.22: St. Mary's Hospital, 1867 . . . In 1861, the city chronicler wrote: "The site of this very extensive hospital structure to be controlled by the Sisters of Mercy, the Church of the Advent, comprises four 50-vara lots, and is so elevated that from it a most extended

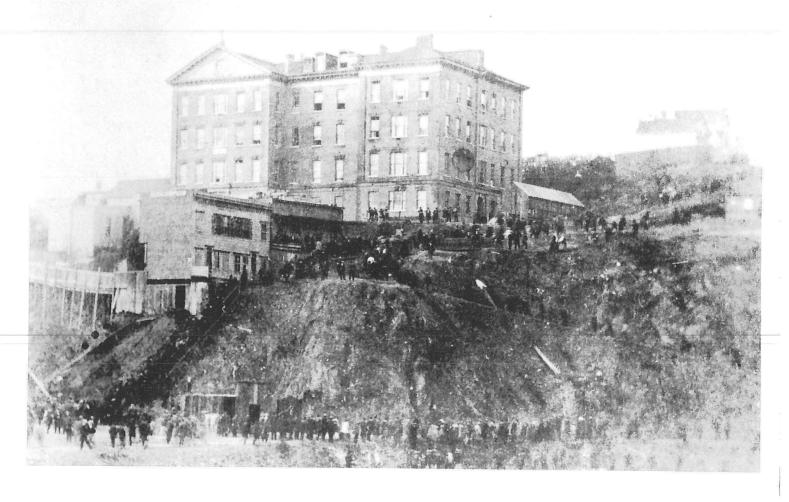
and pleasing view is commanded of the Bay and its islands, the adjacent coasts and a large part of the city."

The Sisters of Mercy had a chapel, storerooms, washrooms, and sixty-five apartments for the sisters. By 1887, as the inset from the Sanborn Map details, the original chapel had become a "Mortuary Chapel" and the sisters had added the Church of Passion, a school for training nurses, a greenhouse, and a few "Old Ladies' Cottages." Undisturbed by the 1906 quake, the buildings burned to the ground in the fire that followed and the site remained vacant until the construction of the Bay Bridge thirty years later.

The very large crowd climbing the steep switchbacks in this 1867 view may well have been attending a funeral, but we cannot be certain. First Street was a hill to be reckoned with at this juncture, and so it would remain.

California Historical Society





articulated the view that establishment of a system of Roman Catholic schools was the most important long-term project of the church in California. The Sisters of Mercy played a significant role in that project by establishing a school on Rincon Hill. Our Lady of Mercy's School was built along the north end of the hospital property in 1871, enrolling 178 girls and 41 boys by the end of its first term.

Quite apart from responding to the concerns of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, the school filled an important social need--especially among the more prosperous Irish, whose offspring formed the largest part of its pupils. By 1886 it enrolled 435 students, only four of whom were Protestant. One of the sisters who taught at the school recalled it fondly:

The school was situated atop Rincon Hill overlooking the Bay. . . . It was the most popular school for girls in San Francisco at that time. Young people who attended it came from all parts of the city--North Beach, Hayes Valley, Sutro Heights, and even from the peninsula. It owed its prominence to the fact that the school was incorporated by the State of California as an Academy and empowered to grant diplomas. Furthermore, the school comprised elementary, grammar, and high school departments. These were under the care and instruction of the most efficient teachers. The curriculum of the high school was very progressive: science, French, Latin, math, history, and English, as well as music. Drama or elocution was a special feature. The entertainments and closing exercises on "the Hill" drew people from the whole city [cited in Sheridan 1982:117].

From an historical perspective, the significance of Saint Mary's Hospital and the institutions associated with it lies in its relation to the people that it served. For the Irish in San Francisco, the church and its charitable and educational activities formed a vital network--both of support in time of need, and of defining cultural identity. In this regard, it is interesting to compare the Sisters of Mercy's activities with those of Kate Douglas Wiggin, whose much better known Silver Street Kindergarten was located on Block 9 (discussed on pages 3-137 to 3-143). Where Wiggin saw the inhabitants of Tar Flat as raw human material that needed to be remolded and reformed into good citizens through the efforts of a cultured elite, the Sisters focused on the most immediate needs of the South of Market community for basic health care, and succor for the poor, the elderly, and the unemployed. Of course, the Sisters were essentially concerned with the souls of those who came under their care, but their concern was based on the Christian premise that these souls were already of value quite apart from the social status of the individuals who possessed them.

The extent to which residents of Tar Flat actively participated in the institutions that the Sisters of Mercy established on Block 7 remains ambiguous. Sample pages from the hospital register show that many patients were from the South of Market, and that many of the male

patients were admitted for the treatment of alcoholism. The statement, quoted above, that pupils at the school came from all over San Francisco sheds little light on the proportion from South of Market families. Financial support for the Sisters of Mercy was broadly based; the hospital appears to have been supported by patient fees, and construction funds were raised through community-wide efforts. The unpaid labors of the Sisters themselves were central to the success of the institutions they founded, and yet, like Kate Douglas Wiggin, they came from outside the community they served. Despite the many unmarried young women who grew up in Roman Catholic families in San Francisco in the late 19th century, the Sisters did not have a sufficient number of locally born novices; they continued to recruit new members of their Order in Ireland.

After its expansion in 1891, photographs of the Saint Mary's complex show it to have been larger and much more impressive than it appears from two-dimensional map renderings. Devoid of trees or gardens, the buildings rise severely above a steep bank leading down to Bryant and Rincon streets. The edifice, which in historic photographs has a look of indestructibility about it, was unharmed by the 1906 earthquake. The succeeding fire was a different matter, and on the afternoon of April 18th, less than 12 hours after the quake, the patients were evacuated by a commandeered steamer to Oakland, together with medical supplies and religious accountements. As a staff doctor recalled:

Large cinders were beginning to fall about us and the fire was already invading the upper side of our block. To complete our human cargo, someone handed a small baby in swaddling clothes to a nurse; nobody knew to whom it belonged. An eight-year-old boy was our last passenger; he came along rapping the fence pickets with a stick, saying he had gone out to see the fire and upon his return found his home had burned down and his parents absent. He was invited for a boat ride and readily accepted.

As we pulled away from our mooring at 5:00 in the evening, we headed for the Oakland estuary, and when halfway across the bay could see the flames leaping from the hospital windows [Topham 1950:23-24].

Even before the fire, the Sisters of Mercy had planned to move the hospital to a new site near Golden Gate Park, and none of the complex was rebuilt after the fire. The possibility that the loss of Saint Mary's as a community institution may have accelerated the departure of Irish families from the Tar Flat and Rincon Hill districts is an historical question that has not been investigated.

Block 7 Residents, 1850-1906

Prior to 1906, the residential character of Block 7 closely approximated that of Block 6, with residents drawn from the mercantile and professional classes. Until it was eclipsed by the

Map 3.14: Block 7, 1887 Sanborn Map, Showing Proposed and Existing Footings

ostentation of Nob Hill in the 1880s, Harrison Street between First and Second epitomized gentility in San Francisco. On both sides of the street, houses stood on large lots in an essentially suburban setting. Only nine houses had Harrison Street addresses on Block 6, each occupying a lot that, were it on Block 3 or 4, would have been crowded with 10 or more residences housing 15 or 20 working-class families. Clearly, space was important enough for the residents of Block 6 to be willing to pay handsomely for it; middle-class families elsewhere in San Francisco in the 19th century were satisfied with row houses on 25-foot lots.

Both the physical elevation of Rincon Hill above the surrounding city, and the setting of substantial homes amidst generous grounds separated from the street by elaborate walls and entries, underscored a sense of distance from the teeming working-class South of Market. This spatial apartness reflected the growing isolation of the mercantile classes from the public life of a city increasingly populated by foreign-born immigrants.

Of course, in large part the neighborhood pattern of Block 7 expressed a desire for a traditional and essentially rural way of life that was at odds with a city limited by hills, the bay, and the transportation technology of the times. In attempting to recreate the sylvan aspect of nature, the householders of Block 7 resorted to the artifices of contemporary technology. Former residents of Block 7 who recalled growing up on Rincon Hill in the 1870s emphasized the garden setting of their early lives. One of these was Mrs. John Hooper, who grew up at 557 Harrison Street, at the corner of Stanley Place:

The garden consisted of a front yard of lawns and century plants, the latter a great rarity in those times. People often stopped and begged for pieces of the leaves, as the Spanish used them for poultices. When the century plants bloomed there was great excitement. . . . A side garden connected the place with a large back yard where there were many flower beds. A laurestina hedge separated the garden of lawns and annuals from the plot which contained all kinds of vegetables and berries. To the left of the house was a tall glass screen which "protected" the rookery from sharp winds. This was my Grandmother's pride. It was in the shape of a cone of large stones and in the spaces were planted all kinds of ferns and vines which she had bought from Trinidad, in Humboldt County, where at one time she visited. . . .

In the rear of the house was a shed where every morning the Chinese vegetable man arrived with his large baskets suspended from his shoulders by a bamboo pole. The baskets contained trays of fruits and vegetables, and we children listened to an endless Chinese dialogue between him and the Oriental cook as they discussed current prices and events of the day. . . .

My special pride was a small garden, with a path bordered by sea shells which I had picked up along the beach. I had been allowed to plant the flowers, and my favorite was a tiny yellow rose of the sweet briar variety. Later on a friend and

I made a fence, which enclosed a small plot where we planted wheat. When it finally sprouted we were in ecstasies of delight and went down on Second Street, where we bought a tin farm wagon and then harvested our crop [Palmer 1935:n.p.].

The house at 557 Harrison had been built between 1858 and 1869 by Henry S. Dexter, one of the founders of the San Francisco Water Company; in 1873 it was sold to Lafayette Maynard, a real estate operator, who in turn sold it in 1877 to John Hooper, the founder of Hooper Lumber. John Hooper had six sons, one of whom. Arthur Hooper, continued to live in the house as late as 1887. This was not the first home that the Hooper family owned on Block 7; earlier, from 1866 to 1869, they dwelt at 413 Second Street, in a house whose front yard disappeared into the Second Street Cut. The fact that the Hoopers preferred to move to another house on Block 7 after the cut had defaced their first residence belies the commonly held view that Rincon Hill rapidly lost social status after 1869.

Next door to the Hooper residence on Harrison was the home of the Jerome Lincolns, built about 1861 at 555 Harrison, midway between Rincon and Stanley places. This outstanding example of a high-Victorian gothic home, of a type very rarely seen in California (see Plate 2.12) was described by Evelyn Norwood Breeze, whose grandmother's house was next door:

555 Harrison Street was the home of [the] Jerome Lincolns, and was quite a different variety from our home garden. The estate had a black and white marble sidewalk, flanked at each end with two cast iron lions couchant, which were great favorites with the young. The garden had no flowers, only lawns with statues of many different kinds. In front was a fountain which played on festive occasions, and in the garden proper were statues of Apollo, Diana, two deer and dogs of varied kinds. Towards the end of the garden was a round summer house, where lunch was occasionally served. It was covered with ivy and honeysuckle. Further on, nearer the stables, was an aviary, where quail were kept which called to one another morning and evening. A large green parrot also shrieked on his perch and gave military orders in French, much to the entertainment of the young [Breeze 1935:n.p.].

Today, an idea of gothic detailing of the Lincolns' home can be obtained by an examination of their unusual family crypt at Mountain View Cemetery, Oakland, which was built not long after the house in the 1860s. It was designed in exactly the same style, which proved equally well-adapted to residential and mortuary use.

Although none of the houses along Harrison Street on Block 7 was quite as impressive as the Lincoln's home, all varied in size and architectural detail, and all were substantial dwellings. Unlike contemporary houses elsewhere in San Francisco, any of them could have been equally



Plate 3.23: Peter Donahue's Forty-Room Spread at the Corner of Bryant & Second, circa 1884...

The Donahue house was built in the early 1860s and the family lived here until 1889. The photographer took this view from the 54-foot high roof of Lachman & Jacobs Winery just opposite, on Bryant Street.

When gold was discovered in California, Peter Donahue was employed on a steamer in South America. He met up with his brothers, James, a boiler-maker, and Michael, an iron molder, in San Francisco. With less than \$100 in tools the brothers set up the Union Iron Works at the corner of Mission and First Street. Here they established their profitable foundry with a forge and blacksmith tools. Profits from the Union Iron Works were diversified into the San Francisco Gas Company Works at First and Howard (1854) with a franchise to light all the streets in the city. About the same time, the city granted Peter Donahue a five-year franchise to operate the Omnibus Railroad, the city's first mass transit in the form of horsecar lines. The brothers further expanded into the railroad and steamer business. Peter had a talent for securing franchises and he employed a simple method of dealing with any organized business opposition--he simply bought out the top management, as well as the name, and added new companies to his investments.

Peter Donahue had been the founder of the Union Iron Works--which had moved to the Potrero by the time of this view. Irving Scott was the general manager of the Union Iron Works by 1869, and he lived on Harrison Street on the same block, as did other top management of the various Donahue interests. James lived around the corner at 346 First Street (on project Block 6).

The Bryant Street lot that the Donahue home occupied extended from Stanley to Second Street. The large three-story buildings in the background on the left are the Rincon Grammar School, facing Silver Street on Block 9, and the Longfellow School, beyond it at the end of Perry Street.

The entire scene burned in 1906. The post-fire site of Donahue's manicured gardens was occupied by the Schmidt Lithograph Company after the fire; the campanile of the printing works remains one of the most prominent landmarks on the hill. Schmidt Lithograph was still in business on this site in 1948, with the 40-foot elevated on-ramp to the Bay Bridge cutting across in between the printing plant and the paper box factory on Second and Harrison. Today, the site has been returned to residential use in the form of expensive loft apartments in the former printing plant.



Plate 3.24: O'Shaughnessy Planned to Regrade Rincon Hill in 1920 . . . A favorite scheme of the San

Plate 3.24: O'Shaughnessy Planned to Regrade Rincon Hill in 1920 . . . A favorite scheme of the San Francisco Engineering Department, the Rincon Hill Regrade grew out of the belief that the poor streets with steep grades were a barrier to industrial development. The many vacant lots on the hill fourteen years after the 1906 fire made it a prime candidate for upgrading. Once the hill had been levelled, the streets regraded and fixed up, it was argued that what had been the nearly useless remnant of Rincon Hill would become valuable business property with easy access to the southern waterfront and the railroad freight business along Berry and King streets. The idea was not new.

Ashbury Harpending had proposed to cut down Rincon Hill after the 1869 cut ruined property values. He suggested that the hill could be used to fill in Mission Bay and create acres of new property. He also proposed cutting New Montgomery Street diagonally through to the Potrero as a "broad boulevard" connected to the financial district. Following so quickly on the disastrous Second Street cut, his plan made it through the legislature but was vetoed by the governor.

The only part of O'Shaughnessy's plan to be carried out was the cutting through of Harrison Street between Second and Third, as is projected in the typed caption to this plate.

In this 1920 view the photographer is looking west on Harrison. Block 7 is on the left, with the Paper Box Factory on the corner of Second Street. Block 6 is on the right. The graceful curve of a stone wall marks all that is left of the fenced yard on the corner of Essex and Harrison.

San Francisco Engineering Archives

Opposite Page: Upper View, California Historical Society Lower View: San Francisco Engineering Archives



Plate 3.25: Irving Scott House at 507 Harrison circa 1878 . . . At the time of this view, Irving Scott had become the general manager of the Union Iron Works. "It is said to be the first home in the city to have a private art galley. At the left is the smaller place belonging Henry J. Booth, also one-time president of the Union Iron Works" (Shumate 1988:78). The Scott family lived here from 1874 until the fire of 1906.

Plate 3.26: Looking Down Harrison from Rincon Place to First Street, on February 11, 1919. The site of the Scott home can be located by the stairway to the street just past the tallest telephone pole. The two houses that were built on the lot after the 1906 fire were gone by 1929. By 1948 the lower level to the Bay Bridge passed in back of a warehouse on part of this site.





Plate 3.27: Thirty-nine Apartments at the Corner of Rincon and Harrison in 1919... Built after the 1906 fire as 18 reasonably-sized flats, with a convenient corner grocery and liquor store below, by 1929 the flats had been subdivided into 39 tiny apartments. In 1863 one family (listed as "Capitalist") lived on this site: by 1929, 39 families and lodgers were jammed in here over the corner store.

In Plate 3.28 neighborhood children play on First Street, near the site of Saint Mary's Hospital. Cheap flats present a dignified street face, but the back view reveals the crowding. Vacant lots of the 1907-1920 period began to fill up with warehouses and small factories. By 1948 a machine shop occupied the vacant lot with the jerry-rigged poles. Concrete ramps to the Bay Bridge now pass over the space where the children played in 1919.

Both Views: San Francisco Engineering Archives



well placed in a country setting. The only concession to the city that they made was in their relationship to the street: all were protected, one way or another, by ornate barriers that made it clear that their lush gardens were strictly private. In some cases, such as 507 Harrison, seen in Plate 3.25, the barrier between private house and public street was carried to an extreme that, in its very absurdity, shows how important the distinction was. There, a 10-foot-high wall built of large stone blocks formed a rampart through which the visitor entered by way of a formal staircase. The wall could be explained as a retaining wall--although the cost of building it might well have exceeded that of bringing the lot down to street level--but the ornamental iron fence at its summit makes its representative role as a barrier clear. The front garden, although invisible from the sidewalk below and of too small a size to be used by the house's inhabitants, nevertheless evokes the image of a sheltered, rural way of life that the wall protected from the street below. Should a caller have had the pluck to climb the formal staircase that led to the massive front porch, he could have had no doubt that he had left the busy city far below.

Indeed, the distinctive walls of Block 7's houses were the only tangible survivors of the social world they were meant to protect after the 1906 fire levelled all of Block 7. In Plate 3.26 the same wall, with its divided staircase, appears in 1919. The two buildings that occupy the site of the original house are sailors' boarding houses--a world far removed from Rincon Hill society two generations earlier.

Block 7 after 1906

Photographs from the San Francisco Engineering Archive show that, in 1920, Block 7 was gradually being developed with light industry, but that it still contained many vacant lots and tenement apartments. Along Second Street, the substantial Schmidt Lithograph Company factory was the largest industry on the block, occupying its southwest corner between Second, Bryant, and Sterling. Further north along Second Street, large industrial loft buildings were erected after the extension of a Southern Pacific Railway spur down the center of the street in the 1910s. At 425 Second, the American Cable Company—a branch of a New York firm—had a cable warehouse; in the same building the Page Steel and Wire Company made or distributed wire fences, and the Weed Chain Company manufactured chains. At 401 Second, at the corner of Harrison, the Fleishhacker Paper Box Company factory, founded to meet an increasing demand for packaged goods, was one of the first industries established on Block 7, opening prior to 1919.

The interior streets of Block 7, Sterling and Rincon, present a mixed picture of development before the construction of the Bay Bridge. Two- and three-story tenement apartments--built in the housing shortage that followed the 1906 fire, at a time when land owners anticipated that

Rincon Hill would become a working-class neighborhood--stood between large vacant lots that were only slowly developed for light industries in the 1920s. At 30 Sterling, the New York Lubricating Oil Company was housed in a one-story structure; by 1948 this building was used for a wholesale liquor store. Next to it, at 38 Sterling, was a small ironworks. On the east side of the street at 37 Sterling, a derelict wooden church was used for machinery storage in the 1920s--an indication of how quickly hopes for a rebuilt neighborhood had evaporated, since the church itself was only 20 years old. At 55 Sterling, K.G. Lundquist's sheet-metal works shared a building with Oscar Presco & Sons Carpentry and Painting. On Rincon Street, the only industry was a printing shop constructed in the late 1920s and still standing in 1948, used by that time as a paint warehouse.

The atmosphere of desuetude that photographs taken of Block 7 in the 1910s and 1920s convey is partly the result of the lack of pedestrian and automobile traffic. Few of the residents owned cars, many worked elsewhere during the daylight hours when the photographs were taken, and public improvements in an area that might eventually be significantly cut down for industrial sites were a very low priority for the city. Gas lamps still lined the back streets in 1920, and the cobble-stone paving had not been renewed since the 1870s.

Despite the deserted appearance of the streets of Rincon Hill in post-fire photographs, it was still the center of a community about which very little is known today. Even before the fire, writers who lived on the hill evoked an atmosphere of picturesque decay. As a result, more recent authors have tended to overlook completely the period in the hill's history between the 1906 fire and the building of the Bay Bridge. But, as San Francisco Engineering Department photographs from circa 1920 show, post-fire dwellings on the hill could have accommodated at least as many residents as the elaborate single-family homes that preceded them. Nor were all of the post-fire buildings slum housing; Plate 3.27, showing the west side of Rincon Place looking south from Harrison, shows a well-kept corner store and apartment building that would not have been out of place in North Beach or the Western Addition.

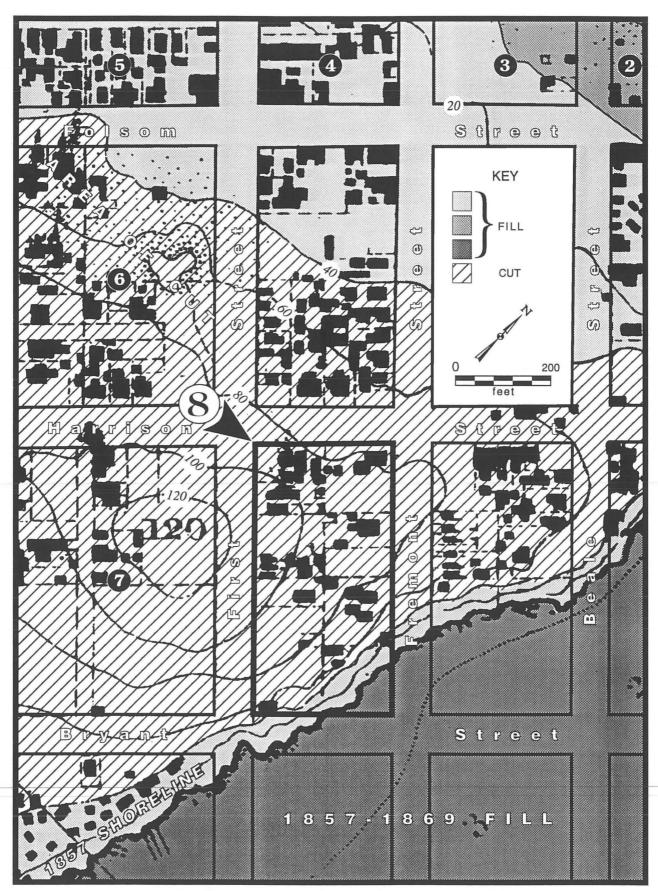
Because the Bay Bridge destroyed the post-fire Rincon Hill neighborhood and scattered its residents, the social character of the community remains an important question. Certainly, it was a diverse neighborhood, with many sailors and stevedores from varying ethnic backgrounds. The 500 block of Harrison Street, dividing Block 6 from Block 7, was especially known for sailors' boardinghouses, such as those shown in Plate 3.26. Although the streets may have been empty by day, at night a more ribald atmosphere prevailed. One of the lesser known aspects of life on Rincon Hill after the 1906 fire was its interest to artists, writers, and social dissidents. There were no longer institutions, such as Saint Mary's Hospital, that symbolized social mores, and the sailors and stevedores who formed a significant part of Block 7's post-fire population were not

known for refined tastes or conventional morals. Already in the 1880s and 1890s, writers such as Henry George, Ambrose Bierce, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Charles Warren Stoddard had found Rincon Hill and its vicinity a congenial environment, whose Bohemian aspect made it possible to meet friends and companions of varied social backgrounds, while maintaining an outward show of social respectability.

After the 1906 fire ended any possibility of respectable middle-class families living at a Rincon Hill address, a new generation of rebellious intellectuals--led by Jack London and his close friend George Sterling--found the waterfront and industrial districts bordering Rincon Hill a relief from the strait-laced society of institutions such as the Bohemian Club. Although Sterling had his official residence at the Bohemian Club, following the suicide of his wife he also rented small apartments on Rincon Hill for rendezvous with his working-class friends, to whom he was an often generous benefactor. Rincon Hill was conveniently close to respectable downtown San Francisco, but socially it was a different world (Robertson Papers:n.p.).

Had the Bay Bridge engineers not chosen Rincon Hill as the western anchorage for the bridge, the hill might have gradually gained a degree of popularity as a Bohemian neighborhood, just as Telegraph Hill did beginning in the 1930s. But the construction of the Bay Bridge precluded such a development, and Block 7, in particular, was transformed from a mixture of housing and light industry into a completely industrial district in the space of a decade. Improvements in vehicular access encouraged the development of formerly residential or vacant lots for new industries. At 424 First Street there was a machine shop and a warehouse. At 324-340 Bryant Street, the Paterson-Pacific Parchment Company warehouse was housed in a large structure designed to fit inside the loop of the Bryant Street access ramp of the Bay Bridge. Off of Sterling Street, on the site of the disused church mentioned above, an electric substation was constructed in 1939 to provide power for the bridge railway; it is still standing amidst the warehouses and highway viaducts, a scene that would be as unrecognizable to Sterling Place dwellers of the 1920s as their community would have been to the gentry who lived there in the 1870s.

Map on the reverse of this page



Map 3.15: Topographic Changes, Approximate Areas of Cut and Fill - Block 8 (Based on U.S. Coast Survey 1852/53 and 1857/59)

3.8 BLOCK EIGHT: Bounded by Bryant & Harrison, Fremont & First Streets

3.8.1 Summary

Block 8 is divided by a steep bluff between the original shoreline of the bay and Rincon Hill. Because of its precipitous topography, the upper and lower parts of the block were developed separately from each other.

The upper part of Block 8, along First Street, was an extension of the Rincon Hill residential neighborhood that also included Blocks 6 and 7. The 1857/59 Coast Survey shows that houses on lots of varying size already covered much of the block in 1857; by 1887 most of the available land on the upper part of the block was covered with houses.

After the 1906 fire destroyed these houses, much of the block remained vacant. What rebuilding did occur was marginal. Spacious houses along First Street were replaced after 1906 with cottages and shanties, which in turn were demolished for the Rincon Hill footing of the Bay Bridge in the 1930s. Unlike much of the rest of Rincon Hill, industries were not established on Block 8 after the fire because of its isolated location and poor vehicular access.

The south end of the block had been a locus of shipbuilding activity in the 1850s, and was later filled for use as a lumber yard. The sheds associated with this yard did not burn in the 1906 fire, and the south end of the block remained in use as a lumber yard until the construction of the Bay Bridge.

3.8.2 Natural Site

As can be seen on Map 3.15, the southeast corner of Block 8 descended in a steep bluff down to the original shoreline of the bay, which the map shows to have been rocky. Beyond the shore, the part of Block 8 that was part of the bay was shallow, perhaps 1 or 2 feet deep at low tide.

In common with much of the shoreline of Rincon Point, Block 8 became the site of small boat-building operations during the 1850s. The 1857/59 Coast Survey does not show marine ways located directly on Block 8, but smaller ways were often not mapped.

Using rock from Rincon Hill, the area between Steamboat Point and Rincon Point was filled, beginning in the late 1850s, to provide for deep-water anchorage. Some of this fill probably came from Block 8; its current highest elevation is somewhat lower than the 100-110 feet shown on

Map 3.15. But the survival of houses from the 1850s up until 1906, by which time the underwater section of Block 8 had long been filled, suggests that most of the lowering of the block took place after the 1906 fire, in conjunction with the construction of the Bay Bridge approaches. As well as lowering the highest portion of the block, the bridge builders dumped large quantities of loose rock onto Block 8, as can be seen in bridge construction photographs. Nevertheless, the steep bank corresponding to the original bluff is shown in essentially the same location on the 1887, 1899, 1913/29, and 1913/48 Sanborn maps.

3.8.3 History of Block 8

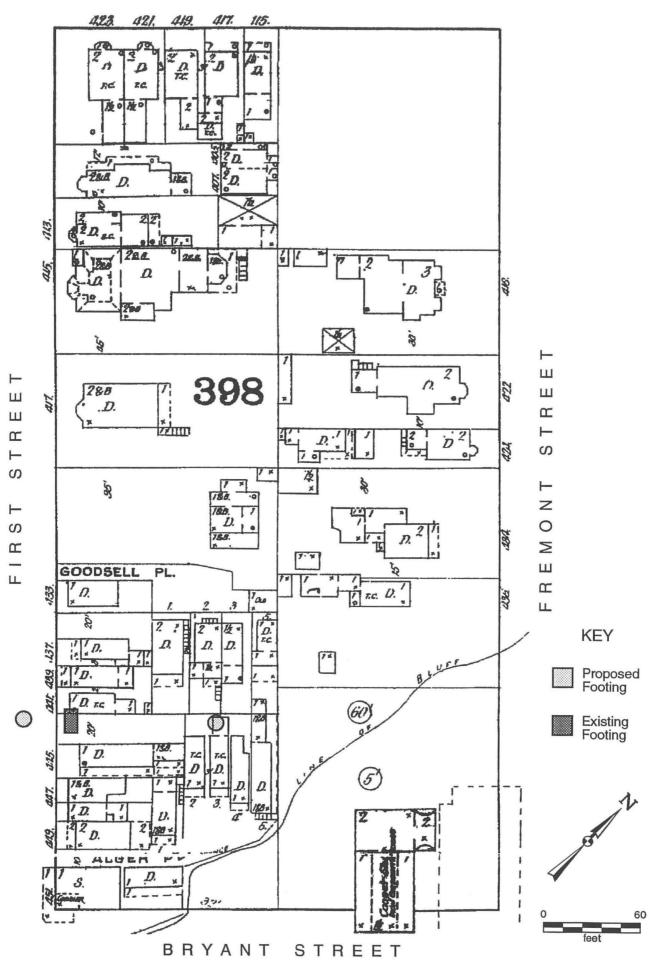
Map 2.1 shows that Block 8 was beginning to become part of the residential neighborhood of Rincon Hill as early as 1852. Fremont Street was one of the first streets to be lined with houses, and on Block 8 a large house appears at the corner of Fremont and Harrison streets. A second smaller house appears closer to the center of the block.

By 1857 the First, Harrison, and Fremont Street frontages of Block 8 were well-developed for residential use. Most houses were set back from the streets, and a number had stables and other outbuildings located to the rear of their sites. The 1887 (Map 3.16) and 1899 Sanborn maps show a mixture of large and small houses on the upper part of the block, but small industry was also beginning to move into existing houses; Patrick Perey, a coppersmith, had a shop in one of these in the early 1880s at 433 First Street.

The southeast corner of the block at the bottom of the bluff was filled prior to 1872, and the resulting flat land was used as part of a large lumber yard that extended across the alignment of Fremont Street as far as Beale (see Plate 3.29). The upper part of the block burned in the 1906 fire, but the lumber yard was unaffected, and a small shed on Bryant near Fremont appears on both the 1899 and 1913/1929 Sanborn maps of Block 8. The lumber yard remained in operation as part of the Standard Box Company, until it was displaced by bridge construction. The general features of Block 8 in the years following the fire are best conveyed by the Chevalier view, reproduced below as Plate 3.29.

After the 1906 fire, the upper part of Block 8 was rebuilt with small houses and shanties, which are shown on the Block 8, 1913/29 Sanborn Map as "shacks." Many of these shacks were crowded together, and probably did not have running water or other conveniences.

Photographs taken during the 1930s, such as Plate 3.31, show that this was some of the worst housing in San Francisco, with very small frame houses and shacks constructed of scavenged materials. Some were no more than crude shelters of cardboard and sheet metal constructed by

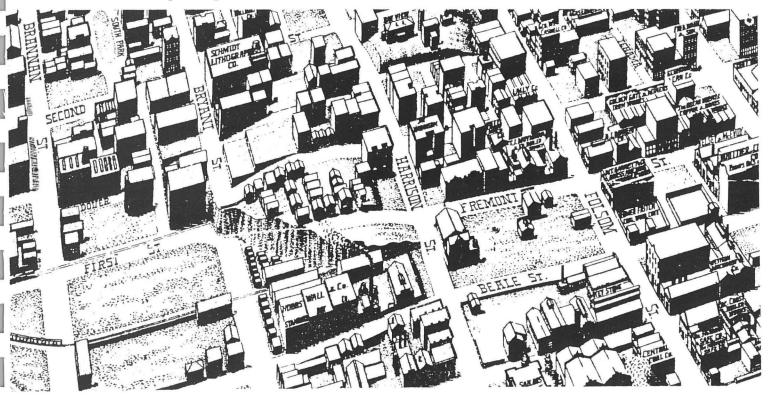


Map 3.16: Block 8, 1887 Sanborn Map, Showing Proposed and Existing Footings



Plate 3.29: Looking Up From First & Federal at Cottages on Block 8, 1919... The 1912 birdseye view inset below shows the small cottages rebuilt along Fremont Street after the fire. The Cape Horn Warehouse marks the end of First Street where it reaches the bluff. Lumber was stacked along Bryant Street on the right. Only foot paths made their way down the precarious 60-foot "precipitous rocky bluff" noted on the 1913/29 Sanborn Map. The map-maker added a note: "cheap shacks" on these modest post-fire homes.

San Francisco Engineering Archives



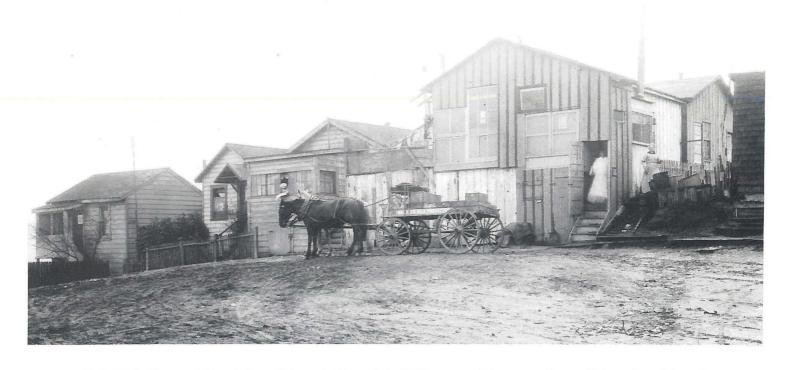
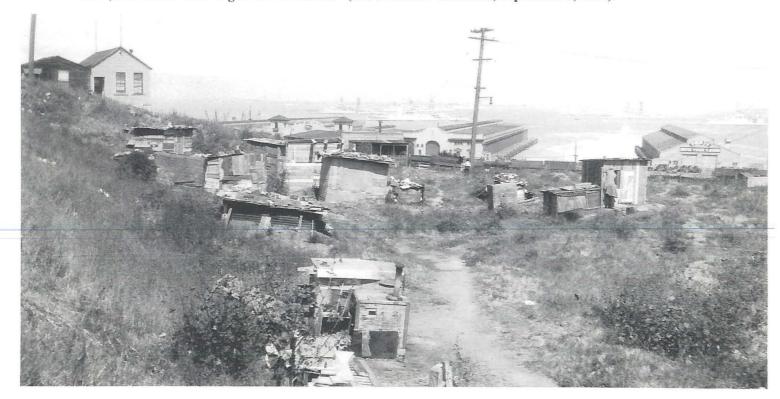


Plate 3.30: Fremont Street, from Folsom to Bryant, in 1919, was nothing more than a dirt road, and it took two horses to get the milk wagon up the hill. Housewives came out to stare--probably at the city engineer taking a photograph of their dirt road. They may have had a few words to say about the condition of their street, the absence of sidewalks, and a few other things that the city had neglected to provide.

Above, San Francisco Engineering Archives; Below, California Historical Society

Plate 3.31: Camping Out on Rincon Hill in 1933 . . . Grim times in San Francisco promoted improvised housing somewhat less substantial than that constructed in 1849. Here, shacks are put together from bits of lumber and scrap iron, and roofs are anchored with rocks against the stiff San Francisco wind. Cooking takes place within a circle of stones. Sanitation would be conjectural, at best.

A year later the State of California bought out "Rincon Hill Squatters... Candy Mary Pentovich, who has lived in one of the shacks for 22 years and supported herself by peddling candy along the waterfront. The California Toll Bridge authority arrived and handed each squatter a check for \$300 in reimbursement. Benjamin Zabella... died a few hours before his tumble-down hut was due to fall under the crowbars... The \$300 will be used to give him a funeral" (San Francisco Examiner, September 3, 1934).



people who had no place else to live. It would appear that these shanties were first constructed as temporary earthquake housing, but that the lack of paved roads and the general isolation of Block 8 after 1906 gave no incentive for these to be replaced by more substantial dwellings. As a result, the upper part of the block retained the character of a shanty town until its impoverished residents were evicted and their homes destroyed for the construction of the Bay Bridge.

The only substantial post-fire structure built on Block 8 prior to the construction of the Bay Bridge was a three-story apartment building on the corner of First and Harrison streets; part of its ground floor housed the machine shop of the West Coast Elevator Company.

After the construction of the Bay Bridge, the Union Oil Company office building was built at 425 First Street. Now it is considered to be a prominent landmark, and its distinctive orange and white triangular tower is difficult not to notice. It was constructed in 1941 and designed by Lewis Hobart, a prominent architect better known for his restrained, classical buildings.

Block 8 Residents

Because SF-480 is not expected to disturb any historic archaeological sites on Block 8, the block has not been the subject of extensive census and directory research. Information from Shumate's study, *Rincon Hill and South Park* (1988), shows that early residents of Block 8 included several attorneys, insurance brokers, mining engineers, merchants--and of course their families and many of their domestic servants. One typical resident of Block 8 was John Gallagher, partner with John Farren in a wagon and blacksmith shop on Beale Street on Block 1; he resided on Block 8 between 1873 and 1890.

By the late 1860s and 1870s, the area was less socially homogenous, and voter registration information lists machinists, mechanics, caulkers, a teamster, and a tinsmith. Most of the prominent residents listed by Shumate moved elsewhere during this same period, though a few remained, such as Thomas Kimball, a mining engineer, who dwelt at 415 Harrison from 1867 until 1887. Census information from 1900 might well show a continuing decline in the occupational and social status of Block 8 residents.

After the 1906 fire, Block 8 became a genuine slum from the standpoint of city planners, and it is doubtful that much thought was given to the displacement of its residents by the construction of the Bay Bridge. That is, not until the local press discovered a human interest story in the plight of the people about to be evicted by the bridge:

Progress may be grand for poets to praise or nations and industries to court. But to a group of families whose homes on Rincon Hill lie in the path of the approach to the San Francisco-Oakland bridge it is just a very bad pain and name. For they

have been ordered to vacate the houses and gardens, made with their own hands on leased land, to make way for the great span across the bay.

Fourteen families or individuals whose houses, however small, must be removed for the monster 'progress' have been ordered by the courts to vacate so the property may be bought by the State.

'They only want to pay us each \$25 to move from our homes,' said Mrs. Mary Pentovich, known to thousands of waterfront workers as 'Candy Mary,' whose little home at 433 First Street is condemned. It was pointed out, however, that the householders are not owners of the land on which the houses stand but have leased it from various owners who have sold to the bridge authorities. For each house that is to be removed to make way for the bridge the State will pay \$25.

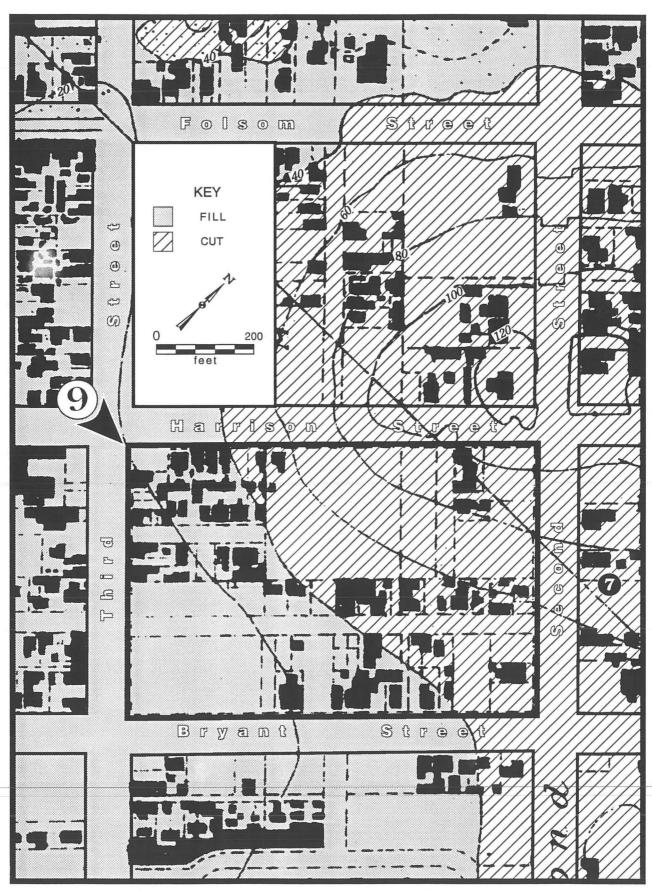
'That wouldn't pay for moving,' says Mary, and tears came to her eyes as she told of her attempts to make an honest living to keep up the little home she loves. 'I'll not move until I get the \$135 for the house and \$300 worth of improvements' . . . 'We use to live in apartments but the hill here is usually so sun-shiny and pleasant that we just love it,' says Mrs. Fred Jordan, as she lovingly touched her piano [San Francisco Chronicle, March 14, 1934].

With public sympathy aroused, the State of California found it wise to improve its offer:

Just as workmen were beginning the demolition, representatives of the California Bridge Toll Authority arrived and handed each squatter a check for \$300 for reimbursement. 'Candy Mary' Pentovich, who has lived in one of the shacks for 22 years and supported herself by peddling candy along the waterfront was one of those who received a check.

With one exception, the checks were handed personally to the dispossessed squatters. The exception was Benjamin Zaballa, descendant of an early Spanish settler in Yerba Buena, who had lived on the slope for many years. He died a few hours before his tumble-down hut was due to fall under the crowbars of the wrecking crews. The \$300 will be used for his funeral [San Francisco Chronicle, September 3, 1934].

From the perspective of social history, research on the inhabitants of the cottages and shanties of Block 8 could provide important insights into how economically marginal people lived in San Francisco from 1906 through the 1930s. Because of the sweeping views that Block 8 offered, post-fire dwellings on the block are well-documented in photographs, such as Plate 3.30, but all we know about the people who lived in them is contained in the newspapers accounts of their eviction from their homes when the block was cleared for the construction of the Bay Bridge.



Map 3.17: Topographic Changes, Approximate Areas of Cut and Fill - Block 9 (Based on U.S. Coast survey 1852/53 and 1857/59)

3.9 BLOCK NINE: Bounded by Second & Third; Harrison & Bryant

3.9.1 Summary

Block 9 mirrors a social pattern observed in the discussion on Block 5, and observed in the 1979 historical survey (Olmsted et al. 1979) of the 11-block Yerba Buena Center: the central through streets, such as Bryant and Harrison, tended to have middle-class to upper-class residents, while the back streets, such as Silver and Perry, were largely working-class neighborhoods. Vassar Place was a small enclave at the 100-foot elevation that became an upper-class street address. Like Block 5, the proximity of these very different socioeconomic groups gave Block 9 a mixture of social classes living close to one another. Unlike Block 5, which drew more heavily on workmen from industrial First Street, the working-class streets of Silver and Perry had a greater proportion of resident shopkeepers and workers in small businesses, in addition those whose employment was limited to day labor. Irish immigrant laborers are more likely to be discovered here in the 1860s and 1870s than in later decades. By 1880 and 1900, there were more skilled craftsmen and white collar workers on Block 9 than unskilled laborers.

From an historical perspective, the Silver Street Kindergarten was the most significant institution on Block 9. Its importance was as an agent of social reform and a catalyst to the entire free kindergarten movement in San Francisco; within 13 years of its founding, there were 66 free kindergartens in the city. Later, it served as a model school and training institution for teachers who influenced the national kindergarten educational movement.

Part of the historical importance of the Silver Street Kindergarten lies in the insights that it gives us about the relations between well-meaning, energetic, and charitable individuals in San Francisco and working-class families, whose very existence often depended on charity. A further study could include an analysis of the Kate Douglas Wiggin papers at the Bancroft Library and the early kindergarten publications of the late 1870s and 1880s, to shed more light on class relations in San Francisco during this turbulent period.

The best-known resident of Block 9, and one who lived at several addresses within the project area, was Henry George, the economist who wrote *Progress and Poverty* between 1877 and 1879, precisely the time he lived on Blocks 9 and 7. Many of his observations of wealth and poverty in San Francisco were made directly from the project area.

3.9.2 Natural Site

Block 9 lies on the western slope of Rincon Hill. Isolated from early development by its geography. In 1852/53 there were no structures shown here on the Coast Survey, Map 2.2--the block was too far removed from access to the waterfrom to the city. Sandhills blocked Third Street north of Folsom, and the alignment of Second Street north of Folsom, and the alignment of Second Street north of Folsom, and the alignment of Second Street north of First streets, blocking access to the bay. To the west lay the marshes bordering Mission Bay.

On Block 9, Third Street was near sea level; Second Street at Harrison had gained 100 feet in elevation. No vegetation appears on Block 9 on survey charts; we can assume that fresh-water sources were not as plentiful as on eastern and northern slopes of Rincon Hill.

3.9.3 History of Block 9

Early Development

By the time of the 1857/59 Coast Survey Chart (Map 2.5), a certain amount of development had occurred on Block 9. One reason for this was the establishment in 1854 of San Francisco's first formal townhouse tract at South Park, one block south of Block 9. To serve South Park residents, the Omnibus horsecar line ran down Third Street from Market, giving residents on Block 9 access to the rest of San Francisco. The 1856-57 city directory lists the "Omnibus Lines and Sales Stables at Third, near Folsom. The Omnibus Line between South Park and North Beach leaves each point every ten minutes via Third, Montgomery, Washington and Powell streets. The line between Portsmouth Square and the Presidio leaves every hour" (Colville 1856-57:251). Third Street was now an open arterial to the city, and Block 9 began to attract new residents.

A cluster of houses appears on Map 2.5 on Harrison Street near Third Street. Vassar Place, a small street running from Harrison south past Perry, has one structure in place, and another on the corner of Harrison. Although Perry Street was not yet shown as a street, a number of small houses had been built in a row, marking its alignment. Silver Street is shown cutting across the southern third of the block from Second to Third. A few houses had already been built on both sides of Silver Street, while several large houses are indicated on Bryant. With a few exceptions, development in the late 1850s occurred on the lower and more accessible portions of the block, at the 20- to 40-foot elevations, rather than the 60- to 100-foot heights.

A few early Block 9 residents were listed in Shumate's study of Rincon Hill's prominent men. Dr. C.C. Knowles, a dentist, lived at 25 Silver Street from 1859-1868. Bryant Street was favored by a number of early well-known residents: Francisco W. Herrera, Consul to Columbia and an editor, lived at 446 Bryant from 1856 to 1867; next door dwelt Colonel Benjamin Washington from 1859 to 1862, Collector of Customs for the Port of San Francisco. John Doyle, a retired teacher, lived at 430 Bryant Street from 1859 to 1870: from 1864 to 1870, John T. Doyle, an attorney, lived at this same address--perhaps a father and son. Samuel W. Holladay, who later was the City Attorney, resided at 416 Bryant from 1859-1861.

As a residential block, away from the waterfront and the central city, Block 9 had no particular reason to attract photographers. There was no large or important industry, and only a few photographs exist of one or two impressive houses on Bryant and Harrison streets; on the whole, Block 9 has left virtually no pre-fire photographic record. A photographer who recorded the Peter Donahue home on Block 7 accidentally included some of the schools on Block 9 in the background (Plate 3.23). The schools are visible on the far left, just past the palm trees in the front garden: the two institutional buildings (three stories high, built over basements) are Rincon Hill Grammar School, close to Second Street; and the Longfellow School, set slightly back. This same view included some Block 9 houses: at 3 Silver Street there was a small two-story dwelling. Next door is a set-back house with a front porch at 10 Silver Street; Albert Rowe lived there from 1872 until 1888. Rowe was a shipwright who built one of the first houses on Block 10 at 118 Silver Street in 1859. A more pretentious residence can be found in the far left of this same view; it is Joseph Tilden's home on 436 Second Street. Tilden, who was president of the Pacific Stock Exchange, lived there from 1875 to 1879.

The Silver Street Kindergarten

Silver Street was to become locally famous in 1878 because of one institution, "The Silver Street Kindergarten--the first free kindergarten west of the Rockies," which came into being late that summer. The little school on Silver Street grew in importance as it became the training ground for a large number of energetic, well-educated young women, who seized upon it as an opportunity to do something worthwhile. Within a year, four Free Kindergartens had been started; within 13 years, 66 Free Kindergartens operated in San Francisco, including those in orphanages, asylums, and day homes. "Before the financial panic of 1893, the Golden Gate Kindergarten Association supported forty free kindergartens. At the time of the 1906 fire it was supporting twenty kindergartens" (Anonymous 1940:15). From its inception, the ultimate goal was for kindergartens to become an integral part of the California public school system. At the same

time, the moral force behind the movement was one of urban reform; this meant rescuing the youngest children in poverty-stricken immigrant families and giving them the chance to better themselves through education.

Kate Douglas Wiggin became the driving force behind the Free Kindergarten on Silver Street; fortunately, she enjoyed writing descriptions of the Silver Street Kindergarten and the neighborhood. The fact that her favorite childhood author was Charles Dickens, whose style she enjoyed emulating, gives us some insight into her dramatic descriptions of the Silver Street neighborhood as "a slum of Tar Flat"--a characterization that is not supported by census data from 1870 and 1880, but perhaps was important in generating charitable gifts to the school.

The school did not spring full-blown from one woman's thinking; rather it was organized as a testing ground for European theories about how young children learn, based on active play as a means of gaining understanding about colors, shapes, and categories. Directing the children's play with love, rather than the discipline of authority, was a new idea. In fact, the neighborhood's understanding of the new "kindergarten" translated to "giving the kids guards."

Kate Douglas (later, Wiggin) was a transplanted, blue-stocking New Englander who had never been to San Francisco until she opened the school in 1878. Her autobiography describes an idyllic childhood in a New England village surrounded by her intellectual family (two generations of Harvard graduates preceded her) and Unitarian friends, among whom were the Emersons. As a young woman, she was casting about for a direction to her life when, in 1877, she met Caroline Severance in Santa Barbara. In her autobiography, Wiggin described her "new fast found friend":

She advocated dress reform, low heels, no corsets, new systems of diet, universal suffrage, feminism, one new standard of morals, and the economic independence of women; but her dominant interest was in methods of education. She interested me greatly in the kindergarten method that was gaining ground . . . under the name of 'New Education'. . . . Horace Mann had introduced the system into his famous school, and Mari Kraus-Boelte, a pupil of Frau Friedrich Froebel, had made a beginning in New York. . . . If I had been made of tinder and a lighted match had been applied to me, I could not have taken fire more easily [Wiggin 1923:90].

Kate Douglas was off to Los Angles to study the Froebel method in a kindergarten training school run by Emma Marwedle, an ardent exponent of Froebel's theories. She described her reaction to her days in the training school: "I was in an incredible state of excitement, for I felt for the first time in my life I was clearly doing something that I was able to do well, perhaps in the course of time, superlatively well" (Wiggin 1923:96).

In July of 1878, a conference had been called in San Francisco by Felix Adler (described by Kate Douglas Wiggin as "a well-known teacher, lecturer, author, minister, and philanthropist from



Plate 3.32: Silver Street Kindergarten-the First Free Kindergarten West of The Rockies, circa 1879 . . . Kate Douglas Wiggin called "Tar Flat--a wretched slum" when she opened this free school to teach the very young children of working class immigrant families how to take that first step towards getting an education. The contrast was highly visible between life at the top of the hill, on Harrison, Essex, Second, and Laurel Place; and life along Clementina, Tehama, Perry, and Silver streets. The school opened in 1878 in the midst of an economic depression.

An inscription on the back of photograph notes: "The small door to the left was to the Free Library run by W. Brown. The two end rooms (over the balcony) are the Peabody Rooms; the end and middle upstairs rooms are the Crocker rooms; two bay windows are the California Kindergarten training rooms. Bottom row windows are the Coretta King family rooms." Well-heeled San Franciscans endowed rooms to cover expenses. The Crocker family had donated the building and the land.

The same year that Kate Wiggin arrived and set up her school to help the neighborhood children improve their chances in life, Henry George, the radical economist, lived around the corner from the school at 625 Harrison. His had been the only voice that had correctly prophesied the financial disaster that the transcontinental railroad would bring the working people of San Francisco:

As a general rule, those who have, it will make wealthier; and those who have not, it will make it more difficult to get . . . the rise [in price] in San Francisco building lots means that it will be harder for a poor man to get a house and a lot for himself, and if he has none that he will have to use more of his earnings for rent; means the crowding of the poorer classes together; signifies courts, slums, tenement-houses, squalor and vice [George, Overland Monthly, October 1868:290].

Henry George had precisely described San Francisco's economic situation in 1878.



Plate 3.33: Oliver Merrill Residence at 663 Harrison, circa 1887... Listing himself in the city directories as a "Capitalist," Merrill lived here from 1875 to 1888. At the time this view was made, his home had become a double house. These spacious but unpretentious houses were typical of the 600 block of Harrison Street in the 1870s and 80s; they were occupied by attorneys, stockbrokers, a judge, the owner of the Empire Mine, and an importer of wines who is described as a "socialite." Observing the scene from his house at 625 Harrison lived Henry George: his proposal for a single tax equal to the rental value of property would have been anotherm to his prosperous neighbors.

This part of Harrison Street remained vacant after 1906 until industry moved in, following the construction of the Bay Bridge and the cutting through of Harrison between Second and Third in the late-1930s. By 1947, a printing and lithograph shop filled this site; the City of Paris warehouse occupied the rest of the block as far as Second Street.

New York") to form an organization to back the establishment of a free kindergarten in the city. Kate Douglas was selected to open and direct the first free kindergarten west of the Rockies.

The motto of the Silver Street Kindergarten read: "Education is a better safeguard of liberty than a standing army." This is best understood in the context of the times, for San Francisco's newspapers were then full of accounts of the demonstrations of the Workingmen's Party. South of Market, in the most densely populated part of the city, lived the masses of discouraged and desperate unemployed men--workmen who had seen their wages drop from \$12 a day to \$5, and on down to \$2 in less than 20 years. Parades led by the Workingmen's Party had routes that led from sandlot bonfire to sandlot bonfire, picking up marchers at every corner saloon, until they converged on Union Hall for the oratory of Dennis Kearney, whose solution to their poverty and unemployment was "The Chinese Must Go!" The despair of these men and their families was evident: many were Irish immigrants who had come to make a better life for themselves in California, and very nearly had. It was against this background of poverty and political agitation that Kate Douglas started her school "for the wretched slum children of Tar Flat."

The school, however, was not established in what we would consider to be Tar Flat--that is, those San Francisco blocks to the east of First Street. But to an intellectual and idealistic young woman, brought up in protected surroundings in New England, the neighborhood could certainly have seemed like a slum.

The school was begun in a building at 64 Silver Street that had been occupied by an overcrowded primary school "now removed to fine modern building" (presumably the Rincon Grammar School in the same block near Second Street). The Silver Street property belonged to the Crocker family. The penciled note on the back of the photograph in Plate 3.32 tells us that, "The upper left room (with shutters) was the Peabody Room [after Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, a pioneer educator from Boston]; the middle left was the Crocker Room [after Harriet Crocker of San Francisco]; and the two bay windows are in the California Training Room [for young women learning to be teachers]; the bottom row windows are in the King family rooms, another room was the Eaton Room." The land and the building it was in, and the money to support the Silver Street Free Kindergarten came, in part, from the Crocker railroad fortune, and from well-to-do women from the East, as well as from San Francisco.

Kate Douglas Wiggin's description of the Silver Street neighborhood in 1878 gives us a rare picture of Third Street and its inhabitants:

The scene is a long, busy street in San Francisco. Innumerable small shops lined it from north to south; horsecars, always crowded with passengers, hurried to and fro; narrow streets intersected the broader one, these built up with small dwellings, most of them rather neglected by their owners. In the middle distance were other

narrow streets and alleys where taller houses stood, and the windows, fire-escapes, and balconies of these added great variety to the landscape, as the families there kept most of their effects on the outside during the long dry season.

Still farther away were the roofs, chimneys, and smokestacks of mammoth buildings--railway sheds, freight depots, power-houses and the like, with finally a glimpse of docks and wharves and shipping . . . viewed from the highest steps at the corner of Silver and Third. . . . The activities in plain sight were somewhat limited in variety, but the signs sported the names of nearly every nation upon the earth.

The Shubeners, Levis, Ezekiels, and Appels were generally in tailoring or second-hand furniture and clothing, while the Raffertys, O'Flanagans, and McDougalls dispensed liquor. All the most desirable sites were occupied by saloons, for it was practically impossible to quench the thirst of the neighborhood.

There were also in evidence barbers, joiners, plumbers, grocers, fruit-sellers, bakers, and vendors of small wares, and there was the largest and most splendidly recruited army of do-nothings that the sun ever shone upon.

These forever-out-of-workers, leaning against every lamp-post, fence-picket, corner house, and barber-pole in the vicinity, were all male, but they were mostly mated to women fully worthy of them, their 'wives' doing nothing with equal assiduity in the back streets, hard by. Stay--they did do one thing, they added copiously to the world's population. . . .

This school, I thought, must not be an exotic, a parasite, an alien growth, a flower of beauty transplanted and shown under glass; it must have its roots deep in the neighborhood life, and there my roots must be also [1923:109-111].

Wiggin's emphatic disdain for the unemployed was not just the arrogance of a spoiled young woman secure in her sheltered environment; it lay close to the core of the enthusiasm for many of the theories of social reform popular among the well-to-do of the time. For a woman like Mrs. Crocker, it was inconceivable that her husband's railroad, with its legions of low-paid Chinese laborers, had anything to do with local unemployment and poverty. No, such social problems were fundamentally moral and had to be combatted on a moral level. In the few sentences quoted above, Wiggin proposes an equation of unemployment with drunkenness and sensuality. The men were unemployed because of their own bad morals. There was little to be done for such people, so the goal of socially conscious, morally correct women should be to rescue the children who were the innocent products of their parents' debauchery, to expose them to elevating moral influences so that they would grow up into good citizens. "They hoped to brighten the lives of waifs who were left to themselves to roam the alleys by parents too busy, too depressed, or often too drunk to do otherwise" (Ross 1976:23).

Kate Douglas set about becoming part of "this strange, puzzling, foreign community, this big mass of poverty-stricken, intemperate, overworked, ill-assorted humanity, leavened here and there

by a God-fearing, thrifty respectable family" in the most practical way: she shopped in the many small places of business for things she needed to furnish her new school, everything from paper to pencils, thumbtacks and glue, including her own glasses of milk. In the process of going in and out of as many different shops as possible, she discovered and described her future pupils.

In many cases the shops and homes were under one roof, and the children scuttled in and out, behind and under the counters and over the thresholds into the streets. . . . My one idea was to keep the situation simple and free from embarrassment . . . to be helpful without being intrusive; to show no surprise whatever happened; above all, to be cheerful, strong, and bracing, not weakly sentimental [Wiggin 1923:112-113].

She writes that although more than 100 would-be pupils were available when she opened, she could only accept 40:

The neighborhood was enthusiastic in presenting its offspring at the altar of educational experiment, and we might have enrolled a hundred children had there been room. I was to have no assistant, and had provided seats only for forty-five, . . . I had carefully selected children best calculated to show the amazed public the regenerating effects of the kindergarten method . . . of the forty who were accepted the first morning, thirty appeared to be either indifferent or willing victims, while ten were quite the reverse. These screamed if the maternal hand was withdrawn . . . bellowed if asked to sit down . . . their mothers, spanked them vigorously and returned them to me each time in a more unconquered state . . . the last mother led in the last freshly spanked child and said: 'Well, I suppose they might as well get used to you one time as another so good-day Miss, and God help you' [Wiggin 1923:116].

Her descriptions of the school tend to dwell on the problems of her success; the school had over a thousand visitors in the first year as a result of a series of enthusiastic articles describing the experimental school in the *Saturday Evening Bulletin*. However much she goes into educational theory, and descriptions of specific children and incidents, there are many unanswered questions about the school's operation that may be addressed by Wiggin's personal papers preserved at the Bancroft Library.

We do know that the children (who arrived very dirty by her white-gloved standards) washed up in the sinks in the backyard. There were sand tables in the backyard for the children to play with and learn manipulative skills. She writes of "putting in six twelve-hour days a week," but she does not tell us how long the children were in school, or if they ate lunch there. Other accounts indicate that the children spent three hours a day in school and that afternoons were

spent by the kindergarten teacher visiting the children's homes to talk with and morally encourage their mothers. The pupils' ages ranged from 3 to 6; the average age was 4 1/2. By her account, mothers delivered most of the children in the mornings. This last factor meant that most of the Silver Street kindergartners came from within a 2 to 3-block area. Given the length of the neighborhood blocks, very small children had to walk the distance of more than two present-day football field lengths with each block. Because of the large number of families with small children on Block 9 alone, 40 children in her first class were only part of the local would-be kindergarten population.

The success of the school was aided by a number of factors: the school was free and it was a safe place to leave very young children who were underfoot in large families (frequently running around in the family place of business); the children thrived under the attention they received in the orderly, peaceful surroundings, enjoying the novelty of piano music, flowers, fish in bowls, and birds singing in cages, as well as many games and activities.

The Silver Street School attracted so much attention (partly because of the articles that appeared in the local press) that soon the visitors outnumbered the children. A training school for teachers was added, and soon young women were starting "free kindergartens based on the Froebel method" all over San Francisco. Many San Franciscans contributed to the Golden Gate Kindergarten Association which spread the Froebel doctrine into every part of the city. San Franciscans were active in their support of the free kindergarten movement:

Phoebe A. Hearst donated money to purchase shoes for the children and for annual Thanksgiving and Christmas dinners for the children. . . . In 1883, the San Francisco Produce Exchange collected a seventy-dollar donation from each of its members who wanted to assist in 'rescuing from poverty and vice, some of the grains of humanity.' The following year they supported the opening of the Produce Exchange Free Kindergarten. . . . Several years later, separate organizations representing merchants, insurance men, realtors and attorneys, joined the Produce Exchange, and each one pledged funds to support the opening of a new free kindergarten. Other businessmen offered donations in the forms of goods and services: for many years Adolph Sutro provided each child in every kindergarten with a tree to plant on Arbor Day; street cars allowed the children to ride free of charge to fairs, parks, and other outings; the Wells Fargo Express delivered all packages to the schools, such as fruits and candies, promptly and free; many offered free clothing and the President of the Spring Valley Water Company [William Babcock, a resident of Block 6] gave free water to all the kindergartens [Ross 1976:39].

By 1880 Kate Douglas had recruited and trained her sister, Helen Archibald Smith, who had been teaching in Mexico, to become the school's principal, thus freeing herself to train teachers, give

lectures about the kindergarten, and write the articles and stories that were to pay her enough to travel aboard. In 1881 she married her childhood sweetheart, Samuel B. Wiggin, an attorney who had followed her to San Francisco to start his legal career in California. By 1884 the couple returned to New York to live; the kindergarten continued its successful work in her sister's hands. Wiggin always considered herself more of a teacher than a writer, but her stories and books (the most famous being *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm*) brought her fame and fortune, sufficient to buy and restore a handsome New England farm and travel abroad each year, getting material for new books and mingling with the rich and the famous, whom she wrote about with evident relish.

Whatever else Kate Douglas Wiggin accomplished, she was correct in saying that running the Silver Street Kindergarten was something that she did "superlatively well." What was important about the Silver Street Kindergarten was how perfectly it fulfilled the needs of San Francisco society at that time. The free kindergarten movement in San Francisco operated from basically sound educational ideas that John Dewey admired and wrote about almost 80 years later:

. . Friedreich Froebel (1782-1852) having been the first to consciously set forth three crucial principles. . . First, the German innovator rooted all his pedagogy in the activity of the child and he understood the significance and educational value of play. Froebel showed that 'spontaneous activities of children, plays, games . . . previously ignored as trivial, futile, or even condemned as positively evil . . . were the foundation stones of educational method. . . . Secondly, that children should learn cooperative social behavior and how to live with one another in school, and third, that children, as well as adults, secure valuable knowledge through productive and creative activities [1956:117-118].

The Free Kindergarten movement in San Francisco was basically an idea of social reform. As such it became part of a larger response to the long, grinding, poverty-stricken decades from 1875 to 1906 in San Francisco. Although the 1880s saw many living in a comfortable middle-class, and a few building opulent estates, for many more the golden dream of California had proven to be a cruel myth. The mass of poor immigrants strained the resources of the city's hundreds of fraternal and charitable organizations.

The pages of Langley's City Directories from 1879 up through 1890 are filled with the names of benevolent societies of all kinds. In 1880 churches and benevolent societies cover pages 1096 up through 1134 in small type--numbering well over 1000 listings. In a sense, people tried to "care for their own"--whether through an ethnic fellowship, a trade brotherhood, a religious affiliation, or a social club or fraternal order. Many of these organizations had been founded in the 1850s and 1860s, but they came into to their own from the mid-1870s up through 1900, building and supporting hospitals, orphan asylums, homes for the destitute, and shelters for the

poor and the unemployed. What could be more appealing than giving the smallest children in some of the poorest and most crowded districts of the city some opportunity for a better life?

And the Free Kindergarten movement had eloquent advocates in teachers such as Sarah Cooper, who founded the Jackson Street Free Kindergarten on the notorious Barbary Coast along the north waterfront; she wrote, "In 1889, over 6,000 little neglected children have been taken from the street by my work and trained for better lives" (Ross 1976: 27).

The Social Character of Block 9, 1860-1900

The 1887 Sanborn Map (Map 3.18) gives a graphic illustration of the difference between the socioeconomic classes on Bryant and Harrison streets, when compared to those of Perry and Silver streets.

For example, 428 Bryant is conspicuous by its size and spacious lot. In 1860 Louis McLane put two structures together and combined as many as six lots to make his large estate. McLane moved the house he had purchased from Colonel Benjamin Washington at 440 Bryant to add to his own 1859 home. According to Shumate, "Louis McLane headed Wells Fargo Express for many years and was later president of the Nevada Bank. His father had been Secretary of State and Secretary of the Treasury under Andrew Jackson When McLane was living in the east, this residence was occupied by Isaac Friedlander, who had moved a block north, from South Park. Friedlander was the 'grain king'; he lived here from 1867 to 1875. Living with him was his son-in-law, Augustus Bowie, Jr., a mining engineer and the first graduate of St. Ignatius College, now the University of San Francisco" (Shumate 1988:73). Louis McLane became president of Wells Fargo Bank.

Bryant Street homes were mostly two-story houses above raised basements, giving the impression of being three stories tall. Most of them had bay windows facing south, overlooking Mission Bay in the distance. Others had small front porches with a balcony above. Comparing them with the small cottages along Perry and Silver, the Bryant Street residences were nearly twice as deep on their lots. By the time of the 1887 Sanborn maps, many of owners of the small houses along Perry and Silver had extended their houses by adding two-story structures to the rear. These new additions often entirely filled their lots.

Along Harrison Street, the story was much the same as on Bryant. Plate 3.33 gives us an idea of the typical 1880s architecture of San Francisco rowhouses. Oliver Merrill lived at 663 Harrison from 1875 to 1888. Merrill styled himself as a "capitalist" in the city directories, suggesting that his income came from investments and real estate. Edwin M. "Ned" Greenway lived at 665 Harrison from 1878 to 1879; he is listed in directories as a wine distributor and "socialite."

The largest single residence on Harrison belonged to Benjamin Brooks, an attorney who lived at number 631 from 1861 to 1885. Next door, in a modest two-story row house, lived Block 9's most famous resident, the only man to be long remembered and quoted well over 100 years later: Henry George, the radical economist, who lived there from 1876 to 1877.

Henry George had earlier worked as a printer and typesetter for various California newspapers. He was so outspoken and opinionated that he did not last long at any position, but he supported his small family as best he could, writing prescient articles for the *Overland Monthly* and *Alta California*. Later, he moved to 417 Second Street on Block 7. It was while he lived on these two blocks that Henry George wrote *Progress and Poverty*, the only 19th-century American book on economics to sell over two million copies and to be appreciated for its original ideas two generations later. Among his observations: "This in general is the tendency of the time; and the era opening before us: to the great development of wealth; to concentration; to the differentiation of classes; to less personal independence among the many and the greater power of the few. . . We will have to deal, in time, with all of the social problems that are forcing themselves on old communities" (George 1868:24).

To make his observations, Henry George had but to walk along Harrison and Bryant streets, and then stroll along the back streets of Perry and Silver. He had ample opportunity to do just that, for he had given up the printing trade to write his book, and earned his living reading meters for the gas company. This occupation not only gave him many occasions for close observation of San Francisco family life, but also first-hand glimpses of the conditions of local business and industry.

Silver and Perry Streets

Using the Great Register of Voters from the 1860s and 1870s, city directories, and the 1860 census, we may characterize Silver and Perry streets as working-class neighborhoods. Heads of household were more likely to be Irish immigrants than members of any other ethnic group, but many were also native-born residents from the East. All of those listed as laborers were Irish, who also worked as express drivers, carpenters, brickmakers, and other jobs that involved physical labor. The range of occupations from the 1860s and 1870s included a number of skilled workmen: iron molders, skilled foundry workers, mariners, and shipwrights. There were barbers, bakers, clerks, a salesman for the city directory, a mining engineer, a printer, a trader, a bootmaker, a female dressmaker, and a bar-keeper.

Using the census data from 1870, 1880, and 1900, the number of people living in each of these small houses on Silver and Perry streets can be compared. In 1870 and 1880, there were

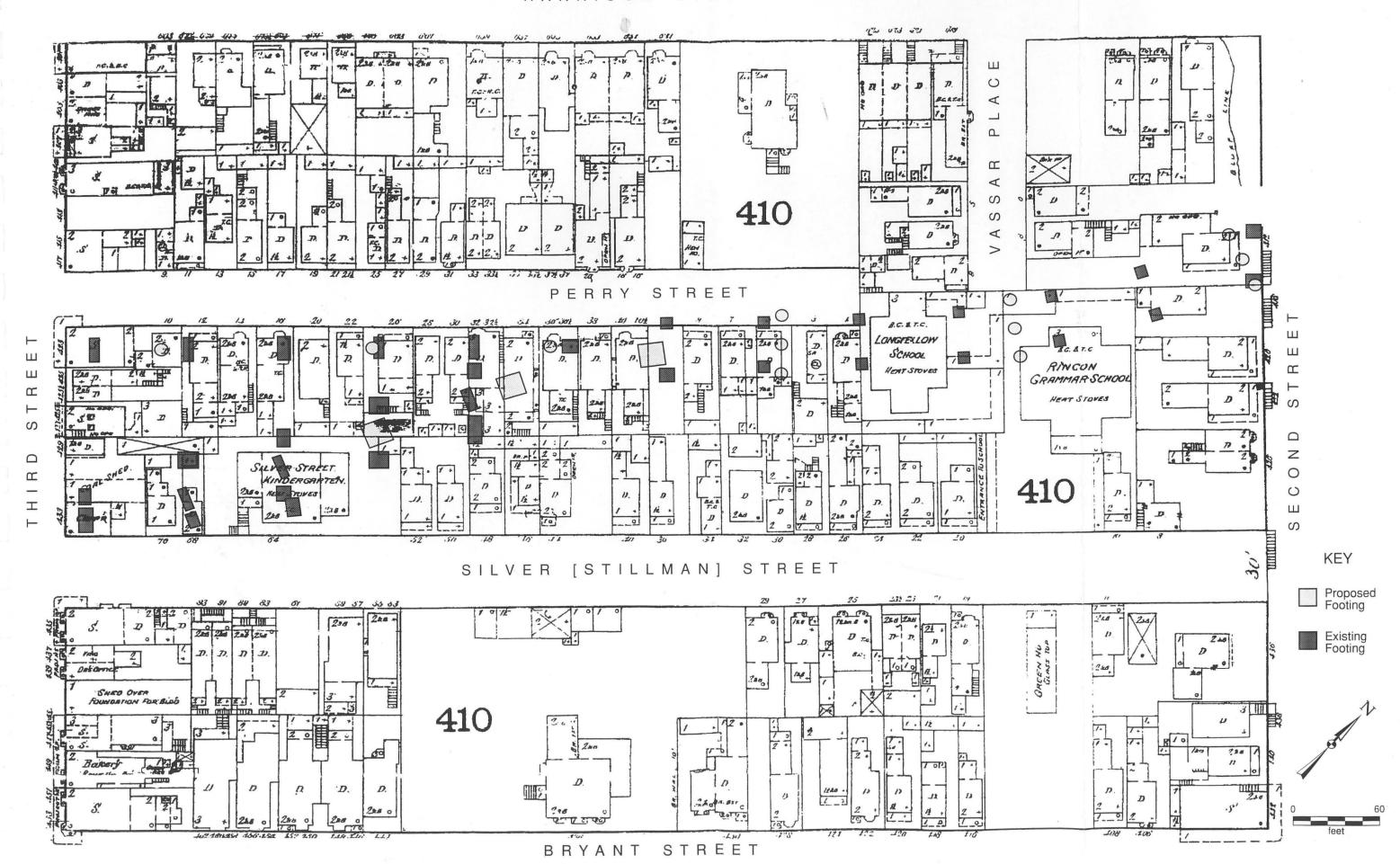
4.3 people dwelling in a typical two-story building that measured about 25 feet across and 50 feet deep. By 1900 the same houses were occupied by 6.04 people; two families usually shared a house, and often each family had a lodger or two.

Families from 1880 on Perry Street: In 1880 the Moher family lived at 20 Perry; John L. Moher was 56 years old and born in Maine; he worked as a sail-maker. His wife, Mary H., was 53 and born in Virginia. As was usually the case in the 1880 census, she is listed as "keeping house." The three Moher children included James L., 27 years old, who worked as a detective and had been unemployed for 4 months in the census year; and Mary, age 12, who was born in West Virginia and attended school. Also living with the Mohers were Mary E. Shore, a sister-in-law, age 36, who was born in Ohio and had no listed employment. Leah Briggs, age 19, is shown as an adopted daughter; she worked as a dressmaker and was born in Ohio. Altogether, there were seven people living at 20 Perry in 1880. Leah Briggs is one of several examples in which young people were adopted by families who were already struggling to make ends meet each month. Since she worked as a dressmaker, she may have added to the family income, or at least have been self sufficient; in other families, children were cared for and housed who are either adopted or listed as cousins.

Next door to the Mohers, at 22 Perry, was the Quigley family from Ireland. Charles Quigley was born in Ireland and was 50 years old; he worked as a gas fitter. His wife, Lizzie, was 42 and also Irish-born. The Quigley children were born in California: Annie, age 14; Willie, age 11; Charles, age 9; and Mary, age 6. Except for Mary, all the children attended school.

In 1880 the census enumerator wrote down the same family number for the Quigleys and the Londons for a group of children who were all listed as "cousins" dwelling at 24 Perry. No head of household was listed with this young group. Robert London, age 28 and born in Ireland, is listed as a cousin; he worked as a merchandise broker. Living with him were his three brothers and sisters, also listed as "cousins" (presumably to the Quigleys): Lizzie, age 12 and born in California, attended school, as did William, age 10, and Katy, age 8. The Quigleys appear to have extended their family by giving their young cousins a home.

William Jackson lived at 26 Perry in 1880; age 23, he worked as a jeweler. He was born in Australia of parents born in England. William was the head of the household and married to Nellie, age 20, who was born in California of Irish parents. They had one daughter, Nellie, Jr., age 2 and born in California. The Barrett family also lived at number 26 in 1880. Patrick Barrett, age 37, was born in Ireland. Patrick was a widower and the father of three children: Katie, age 16, was also born in Ireland; Nellie, age 14, was born in California, as was John, age 12. All three children attended school. Thus, a total of seven people lived at 26 Perry in 1880.



Map 3.18: Block 9, 1887 Sanborn Map, Showing Proposed and Existing Footings

Next door at 28 Perry was the Heyforn family. Matthew Heyforn was age 83, born in Ireland and a widower; even at his advanced age he worked as a stone mason, but had been unemployed for eight months in the census year. Both sons were born in Ireland: Peter, age 54, worked as a laborer but had been unemployed for six months; Michael Heyforn, age 63, was also a laborer who had been out of work for six months that year. Staying with the Heyforns, and listed as a "boarder," was young Thomas Delany, age 11, who attended school. Thomas was born in California; his absent father was from New York, and his missing mother was from Ireland. Again, this is an example of a young person being added to the family; even though he is listed as a boarder, he is attending school.

Families in the year 1900 on Perry Street: By 1900, the census taker listed the Bean family and the Moses families living at 33 Perry. William Bean, age 52, was born in Maine (as were his parents). He rented his house and worked as a laborer in a lumber yard, but during the past census year he had been unemployed for 5 months. His wife, Mary, age 54, was born in Canada and had immigrated to the United States in 1860. She had five children of whom three were still living, but not at this address.

Walter Moses owned the house at 33 Perry Street. He had been born in Canada 52 years earlier of English parents and had immigrated in 1870. His occupation is not listed, but it was recorded that he had been unemployed for the previous 12 months. His wife, Mary, had been born in Ireland and was 53 years old; she had been married for 31 years and had seven children, all living. Five of these children dwelt at 33 Perry: Walter H. was 30 years old and born in Canada, worked as a rattan chair maker, and was single; Emily, age 26, was born in California, and worked as a dressmaker; William J., age 24, was a teamster; Harriet C., age 18, was a candy saleslady; Annie E. Moses, age 13, was still in school. In 1900 the two families living at this address included nine individuals--most of them adults; most of the working adults had been unemployed from four to 12 months.

By 1900 there were two families dwelling at 29 Perry, the Powells and the Lennons. The Lennon family was headed by Patrick Lennon, age 57 and born in Ireland. Patrick worked as a day laborer but had been unemployed for nine months in the census year. He rented his house. His wife Mary, age 53, was born in New York of Irish parents. The Lennons had been married for 17 years and had nine children, of whom only two were still living. Mary Lennon, age 12, was the only child still living with the couple; she was born in California and attended school.

The Powell family also had three members living at 29 Perry in 1900. There was Alfred Powell, a retail cigar dealer who had been born in England 25 years before and had immigrated in 1895. As head of the household, he rented their part of the house. Freda Powell had been born

in California 25 years before of German immigrant parents. The Powells had been married for two years and had one infant child, Vera. The total number of residents at 29 Perry in 1900 was six, consisting of two couples, each with a child.

In 1900 the census enumerator recorded only one couple, Thomas and Julia Harris, at 27 Perry. Thomas Harris was an iron coating shipper who had been born in Ireland 34 years earlier. He and his wife, Julia, had immigrated in 1887. They rented 27 Perry and had no children living there in 1900. Theirs was the only home on Perry Street in 1880 or 1900 that had a single couple as the sole inhabitants.

One noticeable difference between the census information of the 1870s and 1880s was the aging of the population along Perry Street. They were not merely the same people grown older. The 1880 immigrant and native-born families with a number of small children and lodgers had been replaced by 1900 by heads of the household in their 50s and 60s, with grown children at home and working. The other noticeable change is the increase in the number of months of unemployment reported by most of the 1900 household heads, as well as other adult workers.

Reporting unemployment may be the function of the emphasis of the census taker's questions. Nonetheless, the alarming number of weeks and months of unemployment reported in 1900 and 1910 was a hard fact of life for these people.

Families on Silver Street, in the year 1880: The 1880 census taker recorded the Broderick family, native-born New Englanders, living at 52 Silver Street, directly adjoining the Silver Street kindergarten property. John Broderick, age 48, was born in Massachusetts, as were his parents. His occupation is shown as "keeps restaurant", which in the city directory is shown to be at 41 Pacific--which would make his establishment a waterfront eatery or saloon. Ann Broderick was 32 and also born in Massachusetts, as were her parents. The Brodericks had five children, all born in California, whose ages ranged from 10 years down through 3 months. All school-age children attended school. Living with the Brodericks was a sister, Eugenia Wheeler, age 24, and also from Massachusetts. She is listed as married but no husband was recorded. Eugenia worked as a dressmaker. All in all, eight people lived at 52 Silver in the 1880 census year.

Next door at 50 Silver Street lived seaman William Dooley, age 42, and unemployed for two months in the census year. Ann Dooley, age 32, was born in Massachusetts and kept house, looking after their three children, all born in California: Mary Jane, age 11 and attending school; Willie, age 7, who was not yet at school; and Bernard, age 4. The Dooley's had three roomers: Robert Porter, age 29 and a seaman born in England; and an Irish dressmaker, Mary O'Connor, age 32, who as a widow was responsible for looking after her son, John, age 9, who did not attend school. Mary O'Connor had been unemployed for 6 months of the previous year.



Plates 3.34 & 3.35: A Flourishing Greek Community Along Third and Stillman, January 23, 1919... Unlike most of the Rincon Hill and Tar Flat area, Blocks 9 and 10 saw a rebirth after the earthquake, when a community of Greek immigrants created a new neighborhood of shops, movie theaters, residential hotels, lodging houses, Greek bakeries, grocery stores, and restaurants along Third Street. The 1910 city directory lists a veritable network of thirty families named Poulos living and working close by.

The Greeks arrived in the 1920s and made their homes in the apartments along Perry and Stillman (formerly Silver Street). These flats would have been comfortable if modest dwellings anywhere in San Francisco--not unlike those of North Beach. The entire frontage along Stillman was demolished for the approach to the Bay Bridge. A few Perry Street flats remained in 1948, albeit over-shadowed by the giant viaduct of the bridge approaches.

Both views, San Francisco Engineering Archives





Plates 3.36 & 3.37: Second Street on the West Side, from Harrison to Stillman . . . Second Street had become heavily industrialized after the construction of a railway spur up the street in the 1910s. Both views were made in February, 1919. At the far corner of Stillman, the Sherwin Williams Paint Company occupied a handsome four-story loft building. Next door, George Caswell's Coffee and Tea Company roasted and ground coffee on the premises. Next to it, Witherington's Structural and Ornamental Iron Works were replaced in 1924 by the Fisk Tire and Rubber three-story warehouse. In Plate 3.37, below, is the Pacific Coast Envelope Company at the corner of Second and Harrison. A closer view of the Sherwin Williams Paint building shows the details of this fine early 20th century industrial structure. All of these industries operated around the corner from the family flats on Stillman/Silver Street seen in Plate 3.35. The once fashionable Second Street now belonged to industry. Contrast this frontage with the Third Street neighborhood seen in Plate 3.35 on the previous page.

Both views, San Francisco Engineering Archives



Their next door neighbors at 52 Silver were the McBrides and the McLeans. Edward McBride was 34 years old, born in Ireland. He worked as a paper carrier. His wife, Jane, age 28, was also born in Ireland. A brother, Thomas McBride, was 26 years old and born in Ireland; he drove a water cart. E.T. McLean, age 31 and a printer, is listed as head of the household at 52 Silver Street. He was born in New York, as were his parents. His wife, Martha, was 30 and born in Philadelphia of English parents. Their three children, ages 6 years to infancy, were born in California.

Changes on Silver Street by 1899-1900: The two houses described above had been replaced by three two-story flats built over basements by 1900. Not as wide as the earlier two houses, the flats extended farther back, eliminating any useful backyard space. It is not certain from the 1899 Sanborn map if there were out-door privies, as was the case in 1887. To adjust the street numbering system because of an additional front door on Silver Street, the old house numbers of 50 and 52 have become 50, 52, and 54.

What had been the house at 52 Silver, was now the stacked flats at 54: Delia Hennessy owned the building. Delia was aged 55, a widow who had immigrated from Ireland 39 years before. Her three adult children lived with her: Mary L., age 32, worked as a dressmaker; George J., age 26, worked as shipping clerk; and Albert E., age 19, was a salesman. All three were born in California.

In the same building, leasing a flat, was Prosser Plourde (spelling is uncertain), age 59 and a widower, born in the French part of Canada; he had immigrated in 1865. Plourde worked as a pattern-maker in a foundry. His five children lived with him: John L., age 26, was born in Michigan and worked as a streetcar-maker but had been unemployed for one month in that year; Tina, age 22, and also born in Michigan, worked as a dressmaker and had been unemployed for the 12 previous months; Jenny, age 20, was a milliner; Julia, age 18 and born in California, has no work listed, but Odilque, a son, worked as a carpenter's helper.

Block 9 After 1906

Although the buildings of Block 9 were destroyed in the 1906 fire, there was a rebirth of a residential community there. A 1913 Sanborn Map not only shows the extent of post-fire reconstruction, but attaches a coded land-use sheet listing the types of activities in different small businesses. Comparing this map to the updated 1929 map gives us a clear idea of the changing character of Block 9.

On the 1913 map, no pre-fire buildings had been rebuilt in the same configurations as their predecessors shown on the 1887 and 1899 maps. A number of post-fire residential flats had been constructed along Stillman (formerly Silver). The site of the Silver Street Kindergarten was now solidly built up with two-story flats and a row of dwellings; these appear on Plate 3.35. The three-story flats shown there facing the second telephone pole would have been 70 through 74 Silver, built on the site of the earlier Silver Street flats at 54-52 Silver.

A sample of 1910 tenants living in this 3-story building include: Sarah Steward, a widow, born in England 53 years previously. She rented a flat and sub-leased rooms. Her daughter Annie, age 17 and born in California, worked as a laborer in a yeast factory. There were three lodgers: Kenneth Nystrom, age 42 and born in Sweden, worked as a laborer in an oyster company; James Ryan, age 28 and born in Australia, had immigrated in 1902 and worked as a contractor and laborer; Tony Larson, age 36, was born in Sweden and worked in a tinshop.

On a different floor, at the 70A Silver, Alma Hanson, age 32 and born in Sweden, rented her flat and, in turn, subleased rooms to lodgers. Alma was the manager of a restaurant. One of her lodgers was Alma Beck, age 35 and also born in Sweden; she also is listed as a restaurant owner and manager, presumably a partner of her Swedish landlady. There were five single male lodgers sharing this flat, including laborers on street work, a street car conductor, and a bricklayer. Some of them had been out of work from 12 to 25 weeks during the census year.

At 72A Silver, the flat was rented to Philip M. Furlong, age 30 and born in England; he had immigrated 15 years earlier to California. His wife Agnes H., age 26, was also born in England and the pair had been married five years. The Furlongs had two small daughters, Agnes M., age 4, and Anita M., age 1. Living with them was Charles A. Hooper, a brother-in-law, age 22 and born in California. He was a coal stoker on a steamship and was probably absent at sea much of the time. Two lodgers rented rooms from the Furlongs: Charles Rousin, age 29, who was a bartender in a saloon, and Claude L. Robbins, also age 29, who worked as a waiter on board a steamship.

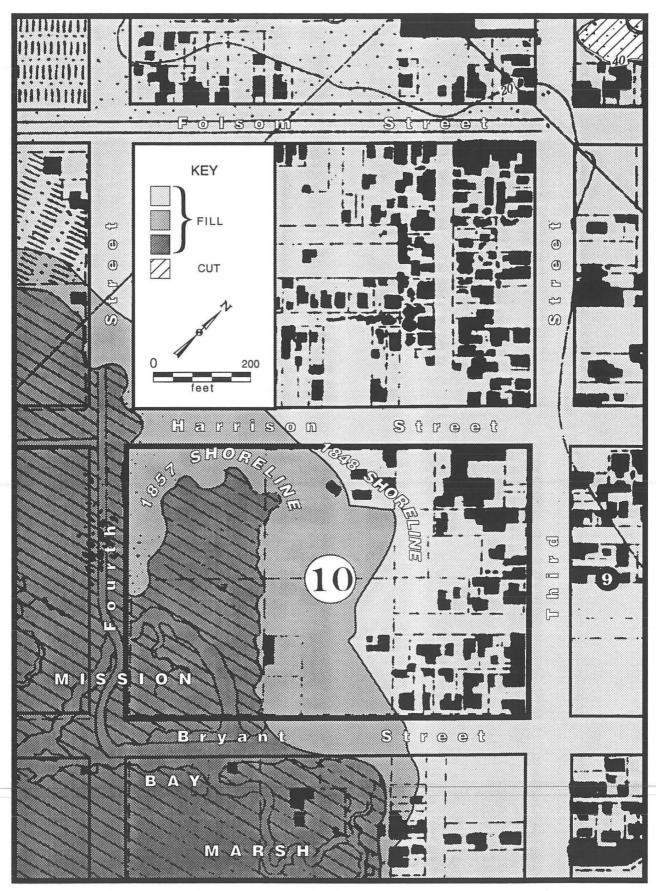
This sample of Stillman/Silver Street residents in these post-fire flats is that of a working-class neighborhood in which every available space is rented--usually to single, working-class men. The heads of the households are apt to be middle-aged women. There seems to be no dominant ethnic group. Again, as in 1900, many of the workers have been unemployed for long periods during the census year.

Stillman (earlier Silver) Street was around the corner from Third Street, and as we can see from Plate 3.34, the street frontage was rebuilt with small shops, not unlike their pre-fire predecessors, but with more residents living above in two-and three-story buildings. All but two of the Third Street shops in Plate 3.34 were built between 1913 and 1919. Among the shops

listed on Third Street in 1913 were a corner saloon (near Harrison) with a barbershop and storage upstairs, a butcher supply shop, a garage for trucks, a restaurant, a second-hand clothing store, and a grocery; the printing shop had rebuilt in its earlier Third Street location. Post-fire Second Street had become industrial, as can be seen in Plates 3.36 and 3.37. In particular, the construction of a railroad spur along Second from the south waterfront had encouraged substantial industries to locate on the street. The corner of Harrison and Third had the Pacific Coast Envelope Factory and the Fisk Rubber Company (both with their back walls on once-fashionable Vassar Place). The Sherwin Williams Paint Company had a large brick building on the corner of Stillman and Third. By 1929 all of the once-fashionable block along Bryant, between Second and Third, was filled by factories and light industry, with the exception a few flats near the corner of Third Street.

Despite the intrusion of industry into Block 9, most of the flats and apartments that appear on the 1913 Sanborn Map remained standing until the central third of the block was cleared for the construction of the Bay Bridge approaches in the mid-1930s. The survival of the interior of the block as a working-class residential neighborhood after the 1906 fire, even after substantial industries had moved in along its major streets, belies the commonly-held assumption that the great fire put an end to Rincon Hill as a residential neighborhood. Despite the fact that contemporary attitudes towards city planning held that houses and factories should be in entirely separate districts, the postfire pattern of mixed development on Rincon Hill shows the tenacity of working-class folkways.

Map on the reverse of this page



Map 3.19: Topographic Changes, Approximate Areas of Cut and Fill - Block 10 (Based on U.S. Coast survey 1852/53 and 1857/59)

3.10 BLOCK TEN: Bounded by Harrison & Bryant, Third & Fourth Streets

3.10.1 Summary

Block 10 differs topographically from the other blocks traversed by SF-480 in that it was originally a marsh at the edge of Mission Bay. Its geographic position isolated it from development until a later date than the rest of the project blocks. Block 10 acquired the characteristics of the Yerba Buena Center blocks to the north--resembling them far more than the Rincon Hill and Tar Flat blocks to the east. By 1887 it had the most densely packed housing of any of the blocks in the project area, with two-story row houses crowded together on virtually all of its available area. On ground level, shops lined Third and Fourth streets; saloons and grocery stores were on all 12 corners. Second-story lodgings were above the saloons and shops: these included the Lapire Hotel on Fourth Street (1883-1890), and the Colton House on Third Street (1883-1890), as well as many other rooming houses that were not dignified by names.

In Block 10 we see the most sudden and dramatic transformation from a pre-1906 residential block to one devoted almost entirely to industry. After the 1906 fire, light industry dominated the block, with one-story machine shops and truck garages, and the large Union Lithograph plant. The construction of the Bay Bridge approaches in the mid-1930s removed the structures on the central third of the block, including almost all of the remaining residences, and activities associated with the bridge became an important part of the economy of Block 10: the Gray Line Bus Terminal occupied the corner of Harrison and Fourth, and two gas stations were built on Third Street. The light industrial character of the block has remained unaltered, and many of the post-1906 industrial buildings are still standing along Harrison and Bryant streets.

3.10.2 Natural Site and Early Development

Block 10 is the only portion of SF-480 that was geographically part of Mission Bay; it was entirely at or below the high tide level. The 1852/53 Coast Survey (Map 2.2) shows that the western two-thirds of the block were wetlands, with a meandering slough at the corner of Fourth and Bryant. At the very edge of the marsh was one small structure (possibly a duck hunters' blind), and two small structures had been built on Harrison and Third streets, plus three more at apparently random locations on the block. Given the tidal action over this marsh, it is unlikely

that these structures were in any kind of continuous use. They may have been enclosures occasionally used for hunting, fishing, or for farm animals. Except for two small structures on the north side of Harrison, no development had occurred in the surrounding blocks, nor was there any through passage along Third or Fourth, or Harrison or Bryant.

As has been discussed in Section 2.2, Block 10 has a high potential for prehistoric sites because of its proximity to Mission Bay. During the Mission period (1775-1835), neophytes from the Mission Dolores would have explored the large meandering slough in their *balsas*, hunting for waterfowl and all the myriad quantities of game described in later accounts--for Mission Bay was a prime hunting ground for fauna ranging from mussels and oysters, to ducks and geese, as well as rabbits and deer. Mission Bay remained the city's most rewarding hunting ground even during the 1850s, when men expected to bag as many ducks as they could carry within the first hour of shooting. It is not surprising that several oyster dealers are listed along the north side of Harrison Street, opposite Block 10, as early as 1859. Oyster beds were cultivated in the bay up through the 1870s.

The spatial isolation of Block 10 was not ended until the sandhills were cleared from Third Street, creating a major north-south connection to the Folsom and Mission planked toll roads to the north. This was done in 1854 when the important subdivision of South Park was under construction; its well-to-do residents began to occupy its row-houses in January of 1855. In 1855 the Omnibus Stage Line built a large stable (seen on the 1857/59 Coast Survey Map at Third Street, north of Folsom), and began to run horse-drawn cars down to South Park, opening up Blocks 9 and 10 to the rest of South of Market San Francisco (Colville 1856-57:48).

By 1857 the eastern two-thirds of Block 10 had been filled, but boggy ground continued almost as far as the line of Third Street. In the 1850s and 1860s, some of this land was used for market gardens (probably by the Chinese, according to the recollections of Rincon Hill residents). The 1857/59 Coast Survey (Map 3.19) shows a large, irregularly shaped structure along the south side of Harrison on Block 10. Curiously, its site became one of the few open spaces on the block that appears on the 1887 Sanborn Map, when it included a Chinese laundry and a coal yard. Although several brick yards were listed just two blocks south on Brannan in 1859, no similar brick, stone, or coal yard appears in the city directories of 1856-59 on this site. Nor would the oyster businesses across Harrison Street have needed such a large structure.

The absence of directory listings of businesses on Block 10 in 1859 suggests that most of its development did not begin until the 1860s. Perhaps one of the earliest occupants on the block was Henry Buckman, who opened a grocery and liquor store at the northwest corner of Third and Harrison in 1859. At the same time, James Boyle, a ship's carpenter, lived upstairs at that corner. Silver Street was not open in 1859 between Third and Fourth but was listed as open in 1861;

Perry Street was still not listed as open on this block in 1861. Clearly, filling up to city grade on Block 10 took place at a gradual rate, as lots were needed for new houses.

What was to become a densely crowded block, with 186 small houses shown on the 1887 Sanborn (Map 3.20), as well as numerous shops along Third and Fourth streets (all with living quarters, or lodging houses, at the second floor level), was not built up until the 1870s and 1880s.

3.10.3 History of Block 10, 1870-1906

In many ways Block 10 was the westward extension of Block 9, but it differed in that it was originally entirely at sea level or awash with tides. Third Street not only served as the physical boundary to Rincon Hill, but also became a socioeconomic boundary. Second Street had no commercial frontage south of Folsom, even though there were "smart shops on Second Street" to the north. Third Street was lined with shops of all kinds, as described by Kate Douglas Wiggin, quoted in Section 3.9.

Block 10 was more densely populated than Block 9, partly because of the space that the three large schools occupied on Block 9. The only institutional space on Block 10 was a very small city firehouse at 316 Bryant. Every available foot of street frontage along Perry, Silver, Harrison, and Bryant contained a small two-story dwelling--rows and rows of these houses with their outbuildings to the rear. By 1887 these small houses often had one and two-story additions filling up what were already diminutive backyards. Stables, wood lots, and coal yards, filled up the few non-residential sites: heating all of these 186 dwellings and 46 shops required a lot of coal, and San Francisco was often blanketed by coal smoke on cold winter days.

On the 1887 Sanborn Map, the one large vacant site along Fourth Street was probably the result of a fire. Heavy use of kerosene, coal, and wood for heating, cooking, and laundering, made South of Market fires inevitable; the densely packed wood-frame houses could make them disastrous. By 1883 it must have some comfort to Block 10 residents to have their own fire equipment so close at hand: "Steamer No. 10, located on Bryant Street, between Third and Fourth, and organized in 1873, included an Engine, Amoskeag, second class; cylinder six and a half inches, length of stroke, ten inches, capacity 400 gallons per minute, weight six thousand pounds. Foreman, Bernard Rawle" (Langley 1883:63).

Third Street, as seen on the 1887 Sanborn (Map 3.20), not only had every 20- to 25-foot lot filled with a shop of some kind, but also had a Chinese laundry, as well as the Colton House lodgings above the shops between Bryant and Silver. All 12 corners of Block 10 had saloons-some very large, like Jules Mihy's "Wines and Liquors Shop" at the southeast corner of Harrison

and Fourth. Another large "Liquor and lodgings" establishment was at southeast corner of Silver and Fourth streets, operated by John Brandtjen from at least 1879 to 1883.

Among the saloon keepers on Block 10 was Mrs. Annie Cook, a widow who ran her late husband's saloon on the southwest corner of Harrison and Third streets from at least 1879 to 1883. Another Irish widow, Bridget O'Neil, ran her late husband's saloon on Bryant Street in 1883. The previously discussed pattern of German ownership and operation of the valuable corner grocery and liquor stores continued on Block 10: Henry and Edward Schuldt were two Germanborn brothers who ran a grocery and liquor store at the southwest corner of Silver and Third Streets from at least 1879 to 1883. They lived above the store with a back entrance at 100 Silver. Frederick Leicken and Simon Volk had a combination grocery and butcher shop, but were also listed under retail liquors, at the northeast corner of Perry and Fourth streets in 1879. They, too, lived above their large establishment.

The social matrix of Block 10 closely resembles the block directly to its north, bounded by Harrison and Third, Fourth and Folsom (this block was studied by the authors in the 1979 Yerba Buena Survey, Olmsted et al. 1979). Block 10 is the only block in the SF-480 study area that contained Chinese laundries in the 1880s. There are four Chinese laundries in 1887, on a block which was undoubtedly dominated by the immigrant Irish population from the 1870s up through 1906. To quote the findings from the 1970 Yerba Buena Center Study:

Conflict occurred between the working-class white residents and the young toughs who stoned passing Chinese immigrants; Irish kids enjoyed harassing Chinese laundrymen who were delivering and picking up clothes, or just getting some fresh air in the doorways of their washhouses. San Francisco discrimination was the most serious, for it directly effected the economic life of Chinese, and it was born in the politics of the South of Market ... The area contained fertile earth for the growth of anti-Chinese sentiment. This growth blossomed with the demagoguery of Denis Kearney and the rise of the Workingman's Party of California in late 1870s. A sport of the locals was to greet the newly arrived Chinese 'by a fusillade of rocks from the above' the Second Street cut. As Harry Umbser remembered it, this 'gave an insight as to the future treatment they were to receive from the hoodlums who infest the different parts of the city' [Olmsted et al. 1979:154].

In 1880 San Francisco had 320 laundries, of which 240 were owned and operated by Chinese; the 1880 census noted that the majority of California's more than two thousand laundrymen were Chinese. Of particular interest is the persistence of the Chinese laundries all over the South of Market area. Block 10 had one French Laundry on Fourth Street: French laundries charged higher prices for meticulous work, but the Chinese dominated this industry on the whole.

Typically, the Chinese laundry employed from five to 15 workers, with different crews using

the same facilities day and night. The laundry owners provided minimal living quarters on the premises, with dark cubby holes for sleeping and living during the off-shifts. Fuel for the Chinese laundries came from the Gas Works at First and Howard, where the gas company extracted gas from coal and sold the remaining coke to the laundries (Kerr 1881:101).

By 1880 the San Francisco supervisors passed Ordinance #1559, which specified that all new laundry buildings must be made of brick or stone, with metal roofs and metal-covered doors and shutters. All the Chinese laundries on the original, three-color 1887 Sanborn Map of Block 10 (reproduced here as Map 3.20) are dark-colored, which indicated "metal-cladding." New wooden laundries required the Board of Supervisors' vote of approval for each laundry to be opened. Interestingly, Block 10 had its own local representative on the Board of Supervisors, Thomas Boyce, who lived at 526 Bryant from 1860 to 1889.

It was San Francisco's Ordinance #1559 that brought about the case of Yick Wo, who hired lawyers to take his case to the California Supreme Court (and eventually to the United States Supreme Court) to protest that the city ordinances violated civil rights legislation and allowed the supervisors to discriminate against laundry operators on the basis of race. The 1883 decision in Yick Wo's favor was the first instance of the U.S. Supreme Court protecting a racial minority from the possible effects of local ordinances.

As can be seen on Map 3.20, only a fence separated the Chinese laundrymen from their Irish neighbors. Given the prevalence of saloons and the Irish South of Market Boys preference for settling differences with their fists, we can only wonder at the results of this long-time juxtaposition of Chinese immigrants and Irish working-class families.

R.A. Burchell, who made an important seven-year study of San Francisco's Irish population, has this to say about San Francisco's historic Irish-Chinese relationship:

The Chinese presence was nevertheless of great importance to the Irish. The cultural gulf between Chinese and white society, which was ever being measured by contemporary references to appearance, clothing, hairstyles, accommodations, plays, operas, drugs, family life, language, and religion, was so great as to diminish, by comparison, almost to the vanishing point the differences between the natives of Cork and Boston, of Limerick and New York City. It is almost true to say that, if the Irish had required the degree of success they achieved in the city, they would have needed to invent the Chinese outsider. Be that as it may, what the Chinese inhabitants did was describe the limits to the city's cosmopolitanism, which could include some groups but definitely not others.

As a philosophy permitting the cultures of groups to express themselves within society as a whole, it had its narrowness, but, at the same time, by comparison with the tightly knit, historic communities in the East, it displayed a marked inclusive flexibility. One early example of this was given in the *Annals of San*

Francisco, written in 1854, and dedicated to the Society of California Pioneers, a prestigious body continuing no fewer than 153 Irish members. 'Under the term American are included the natives of Great Britain and Ireland, who are less easily distinguishable from native Americans than are other foreigners. Many, however, of the British-born are American by adoption and naturalization. Since the common language . . . is English, and their customs and thoughts are generally the same, there seems no impropriety in calling them all in California, simply Americans' [1980:181-182].

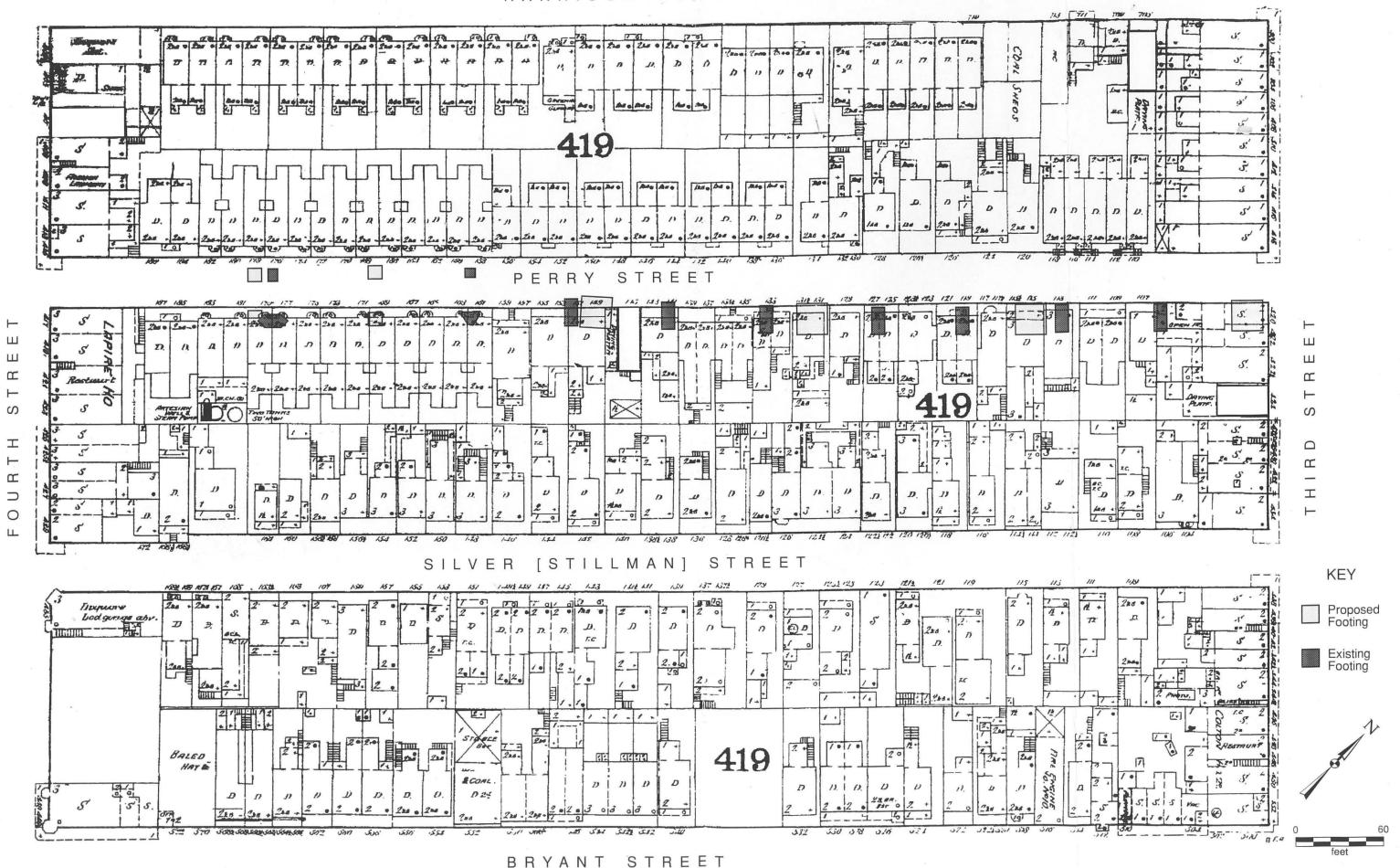
Post-fire Rebuilding on Block 10

The 1899 Sanborn Map reveals that the only qualitative change since 1887 was the rebuilding of the empty space along Fourth Street, between Bryant and Silver, with a number of narrow shops with lodgings above. There is no sign of industrial development in this densely-packed neighborhood of small row houses. None of the structures shown in 1899 survived the great fire of 1906.

A few family homes were rebuilt on Silver Street (later shown as Stillman), and a number of three-story flats were built on Perry Street. Third Street maintained a sense of community with the rebuilding of 16 small shops and restaurants, but between Perry and Harrison on Third, industry was moving in, with garages for assembling motor trucks and sheet metal works replacing the pre-fire saloons, bakeries, and grocery stores. Post-fire industrial development occupied two-thirds of the sites formerly crowded with small row houses.

Post-Fire Industrial Development on Block 10

By 1929 most of the block was developed with light industries, interspersed with small blocks of flats and vacant lots. The southern third of the block, between Stillman and Bryant streets, had many machine shops and small warehouses, such as the Standard Metal Products Company, at 556 Bryant, the Thorkote Products asphalt company, and the Phoenix Iron and Sheet Metal Works at 548 Bryant. In the central third of the block, entirely demolished in the mid-1930s for the construction of the Bay Bridge approaches, the 1913/29 Sanborn Map shows a mixture of land uses, with sheds used for contractors' storage mixed among residences, a machine shop at 119 Perry, an auto garage at 114-1/2 Stillman, the American Chemical Agencies Disinfectant Plant at 147 Perry, and a rubber works at 142 Stillman. The only substantial industry in the central third of the block was an auto-body factory at the corner of Fourth and Perry; next to it at 175 Perry a long shed was used for automobile and truck storage, while adjacent at 455 Fourth



Map 3.20: Block 10, 1887 Sanborn Map, Showing Proposed and Existing Footings

Street was an oil warehouse.

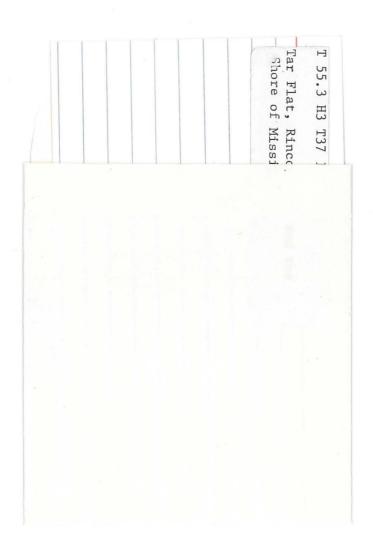
The northern third of Block 10, between Fourth, Perry, Third, and Harrison streets, was occupied after the 1906 fire by larger-scale industry than the block's southern two-thirds. The corner of Third and Harrison housed a sheet-metal works in the 1920s; after the construction of the bridge this was demolished and replaced by a gas station. At the corner of Perry and Third, a motor truck assembly plant operated during the 1920s in a building that later housed a printing plant in the 1940s. Another machine shop and sheet metal works was located at 709-715 Harrison in a building that had been demolished by 1948, and replaced by a parking lot. Directly behind it, at 120 Perry, there was a paint shop that was converted to warehouse use in the 1940s. Another machine shop stood at 128 Perry in the 1940s; previously it had been used as a warehouse.

The largest and most important industry on Block 10 was the Union Lithograph Company, one of the largest printing plants in San Francisco in the 1910s and 1920s, and one which continued in operation until after 1948. Union Lithograph's printing factory, located midway between Third and Fourth streets, was housed in a handsome masonry building resembling in its details the Jessie Street Substation in the Yerba Buena Center. This building is still standing and used as a garage. Immediately to the west of Union Lithograph was a complex of garages built as the Fourth Street Garage in the 1910s or 1920s, and converted into the Grey Line Bus Terminal following completion of the Bay Bridge.

The increasing prevalence of automotive industries on Block 10 after 1906 reflected changes in the city as a whole. By the time the Bay Bridge was constructed, many of the children of the pre-1906 population of the block lived in vastly improved material circumstances compared to their parents' generation--some undoubtedly owned automobiles themselves.

J. Porter Shaw Library S.F. Maritime NHP





"The California of the new era will be greater, richer, more powerful than the California of the past... she will have more wealth; but will it be so evenly distributed? She will have more luxury and refinement and culture; but will she have such general comfort, so little squalor or misery; so little of the grinding hopeless poverty that chills and cramps the souls of men and converts them into brutes?... Let us not imagine ourselves in a fool's paradise, where the golden apples will drop into our mouths..."

Henry George, Overland Monthly, October, 1868



The panoramic drawing for this lithograph was made by Dr. F. N. Otis from the front porch of William Babcock's home at #11 Essex Street, just above Folsom Street, overlooking the SF-480 Project area in 1855. The view was published in Boston as a four-color lithograph; it is reproduced here by courtesy of the Bancroft Library.